



A handbook on

advocacy

Child domestic workers: Finding a voice

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Preface

Children working as domestics in the households of people other than their parents or close family members constitute a high proportion of child workers world-wide. Among girls, domestic work is by far the most common form of employment, whether paid or unpaid. But where it is common, because of the ambiguities which surround the children's working situation - which is often confused with traditional types of fosterhood or 'alternative upbringing' - the practice of taking children into a household for the purpose of using their labour may typically be regarded as socially acceptable, even benign.

Anti-Slavery International (Anti-Slavery) has been active during the past decade in bringing to light information about the circumstances surrounding child domestic work in different parts of the world, including the deprivations of childhood rights and opportunities intrinsic in the practice. Anti-Slavery's initial interest stemmed not only from its concern about exploitative child labour in general, but from the terms and conditions under which many children perform domestic labour in the households of others - terms and conditions which are often tantamount to servitude.

Not only the contractual basis of child domestic labour but many of its practical characteristics have features akin to slavery. A child employed in a private household may be unpaid; be expected to work around the clock without set hours or time off; be virtually imprisoned; and treated as the chattel of the employer.

Apart from a few isolated cases, up to the early 1990s child domestic work had received relatively little notice as a sub-set of child labour. In order to redeem this situation, Anti-Slavery first turned its attention to the gathering of information about child domestic work, child domestic employment and child domestic servitude with a view to raising consciousness on the issues involved. A small number of pioneering non-governmental organisations (NGOs), conscious of the exploitation and abuse increasingly associated with the practice, had already begun to conduct small-scale studies in their own localities. Anti-Slavery sought to support these efforts, bring them into contact with one another, and to develop national and international platforms on which their findings could be projected.

Building on these efforts, and with full collaboration of those involved, Anti-Slavery developed a research methodology as the first pre-requisite of effective advocacy on child domestic workers' behalf. It was recognised that, within societies where child domestic employment was culturally sanctioned, any voice raised on the children's behalf must come in the first instance from within the society, not from outside. It was also recognised that information about the negative aspects of the practice must be derived from the local reality, not be deduced against international standards perceived as derived from distant cultural norms, or it would not be persuasive among individuals and policy-makers in the societies concerned.

The research methodology proposed by Anti-Slavery with input from its NGO partners was published in 1997 with technical and financial assistance from the ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) under the title: *Child Domestic Workers: A Handbook for Research and Action*. Since then, a larger number of organisations have become concerned with the issue, and UNICEF, ILO/IPEC and Save the Children agencies have become increasingly involved. There is now a much wider range of published material on the situation of child domestic workers, and actions of all kinds - including advocacy actions - have been taken on their behalf in several countries and regions. In 2000, Anti-Slavery therefore concluded that the time had come to move on from the stage of proposing and supporting research, to the stage of promoting effective

advocacy against the exploitation of children working as domestics, based on information newly generated.

This conclusion has been reinforced by the realisation that in certain parts of the world, notably West Africa and South East Asia, there is an increasing degree of commercialisation associated with the practice. Cross-border trafficking of children into domestic work in West Africa came to prominent public attention in early 2001 when a 'slave-ship' carrying mostly girls destined for household employment in Gabon was impounded in the Gulf of Guinea. Poverty and marginalisation among populations displaced by conflict, decimated by HIV/AIDS, or suffering the backlash of economic globalisation, is forcing more poverty-stricken young women and children into menial employment far from home. Advocacy on behalf of children traded into domestic servitude, consigned to the exploitative control of adults with little concern for their well-being, has become increasingly urgent.

The approach adopted by Anti-Slavery continues to be based on collaboration with key NGO partners, and aims to help concerned NGOs build their own capacity for advocacy surrounding the issue. Advocacy in this context is understood to mean any activity intended to raise consciousness about child domestic workers among decision-makers or the general public, especially among employers and child domestics themselves, leading to the improvement of their situation. There are natural links between service programmes (education, rescue, counselling, etc.), research activities, and advocacy, but specific types of information, education and communications expertise are required for the latter.

In April 2001, Anti-Slavery convened an international meeting of experts on child domestic work whose purpose was to explore fully their experiences and needs surrounding advocacy activity, and thereby inform the content of this handbook. The 24 practitioners who attended came from countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and from regional networking groups, international organisations and UN agencies. They brought a wide range of experience into the discussions¹. The subsequent development of the handbook is based on the findings of the meeting, and its contents have been developed with their participation.

As in the case of the previous research handbook, the content is designed to be specifically geared to this particular child work phenomenon. It is intended to appeal to a target audience of small and medium-sized local NGOs which do not have existing resources of staff and expertise for expanding their activities into the advocacy domain without appropriate support. The emphasis is on simplicity and practicality. Cases of good practice and examples of successful approaches are included, but respect is also paid to the wide diversity of situations in different environments and the need to develop responses which are locally appropriate given the sensitivities and difficulties which may be encountered. Anti-Slavery's hope is that the handbook will assist concerned organisations and individuals to work out what they want to do on behalf of child domestic workers, where advocacy will fit in, who it should be addressed to and what messages it should contain. No template or prescription is provided.

Anti-Slavery and its partners in the field also hope that the publication of the handbook will inspire other NGOs concerned about child labour to take up this neglected area, and that workers' and employers' organisations and relevant government departments will also become sensitised to these children's plight. In the end, it is the attitudes and behaviours of human beings in a position to employ, and potentially to exploit, children which will be decisive in influencing their current and future situation.

¹ For details of organisations that participated at Anti-Slavery's April 2001 *International workshop for practitioners on child domestic work*, see Annex 2 of this handbook.

Chapter One

Why do we need this book?

Who's that young girl in your household?

"Who was that young girl I saw in your household the other day?"

"She's someone my wife has taken in. She comes from my wife's village - her family is very poor."

"I thought you were deeply opposed to child labour?"

"Of course I am! She isn't child labour - we don't pay her to work! My wife took her in out of kindness."

"I thought I saw her in the kitchen doing the washing-up."

"Naturally she helps my wife about the house."

"And does she go to school?"

"Well, no ..."



There is growing awareness throughout the world of the degree to which children under age 18 undertake all sorts of roles and occupations - some paid, some unpaid - to help support their families or meet their own upkeep. These working children are often deprived of the opportunities childhood should offer for schooling, nurture and personal development under the protection of those who love them and have their best interests at heart.

Among the largest groups of child workers are those working as domestics in the households of people other than their own families. The practice of employing children, sometimes very young children, to help around the house is widespread in many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, as it used to be in Europe and North America a century or so ago. But although millions of children, mainly girls, are involved, their situation is often overlooked. They may even not be seen as 'child workers' at all.

The term 'child labour' is usually applied to children working in factories, mines, sweatshops, and other organised places of wage employment created by industrialisation. But these are not the only workplaces where children are found. The household is the oldest workplace in the world, and children and young people have always grown up undertaking duties to help make it function. In traditional rural environments where families are usually still large and labour-saving devices non-existent, their contribution is essential. And even today, in every society, learning to help with the family chores is seen as an important part of upbringing.

However, when a child is placed in a household not closely related to his or her family for the purpose of giving that household the benefit of her or his domestic labour,

this is no longer 'upbringing' but 'employment'. The notion of 'giving the child a home' may be used to mask the fact of employment so as to avoid its implications - especially the right to compensation for the child's labour. Unfortunately, the responsibility to provide the child with care, nurture, and developmental support is also often avoided. The right to childhood itself is denied, let alone other childhood rights such as the right to education.

Confusion between the role of a child's patron or benefactor and that of an employer may lead to ambiguity in the relationship between the household and the child domestic. Even where the presence of working children on the streets, or in mines, factories or other formal workplaces is deplored, consciousness that child domestics too should be seen as working children may be lacking. Laws and public policy may fail to set this right.

The potential for exploitation and abuse may therefore be even greater than in the formal workplace, where regulations on hours, tasks, pay, and other characteristics of work do at least exist. In a private household, there are none - except those agreed between the employer and employee. When the employee is a child or young person, especially a girl, she is powerless in any negotiation over terms and conditions. Often the negotiation is done on her behalf by a parent or some other person and she has to put up with the result. In the worst case, the terms may be so exploitative as to be akin to slavery. In the best case, a number of child rights are likely to remain unfulfilled. [See below]:

Domestic employment: an abuse of child rights

The 1956 United Nations (UN) Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery specifically prohibits: "... *any institution or practice whereby a child or young person under the age of 18 is delivered by either or both of his natural parents or by his guardian to another person, whether for reward or not, with a view to the exploitation of the child or young person or of his Labour.*" (Article 1 (d))

In analysing the situation of child domestic workers, the *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989) provides a set of useful norms to determine how far their childhood is actually or potentially being abused. The rights set out in the Convention which child domestics do not, or may not, enjoy are as follows:

- @ Non-discrimination, on grounds of ethnic or social origin, birth or other status (Article 2);
- @ To be cared for by his or her parents (Article 7);
- @ To preserve identity, nationality, name and family relations (Article 8);
- @ To maintain regular contact with parents if separated from them (Article 9);
- @ Freedom of expression (Article 13);
- @ Freedom of association (Article 15);
- @ To be brought up by parents or guardians whose basic concern is his or her best interests (Article 18);
- @ Protection from physical or mental ill-treatment, neglect or exploitation (Article 19);
- @ Conditions of living necessary for his or her development (Article 27);
- @ Education (Article 28);
- @ Rest, leisure, play and recreation (Article 31);
- @ Protection from economic exploitation and from performing any work that interferes with his or her education or is harmful to his or her mental, spiritual or social development (Article 32);
- @ Protection from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse (Article 34);
- @ Protection from abduction, sale or trafficking (Article 35);
- @ Protection from cruel or degrading treatment, and arbitrary deprivation of liberty (Article 37).



The lack of recognition accorded to their status and household role is a unique attribute of the situation of millions of young domestics - who constitute the most hidden, invisible and inaccessible of all child workers.

They are **hidden** because, unlike children who work in marketplaces, on streets, in cafes and other places where they come in contact with the public, child domestics work behind the locked doors of people's houses where they cannot be seen.

They are **invisible** for the same reason, and because domestic work is an informal occupation and they do not show up in employment statistics. Another aspect of their invisibility is the ambiguity surrounding their position in the household, and their lack of recognition as workers or employees.

They are **inaccessible** because, unlike workers in a factory, plantation or other work environment, their workplace is a private home to which there is no public or official access. For all sorts of reasons, the employers of child domestic workers may obstruct or discourage contact between their workers and people from outside the household. Also, since each domestic worker is in a separate location, they cannot be reached as a workplace group. The main purpose of this handbook is to encourage and facilitate advocacy on child domestics' behalf. The purpose of such advocacy must be to restore the childhood rights and opportunities they have lost, and the first stage of doing that must be to make children working as domestics less hidden, more visible and more accessible.



As far as this handbook is concerned:

Advocacy on behalf of child domestics means any activity intended to raise consciousness among decision-makers or the general public, especially among employers and child domestics themselves, leading to the improvement of their situation.

Whatever the difficulties, many possibilities for improving the situation of child domestic workers through advocacy do exist. A number of organisations concerned with working children, or concerned generally with children's well-being, are beginning to take up their cause, and need inspiration and advice on how to proceed. Others already running non-formal educational programmes or drop-in centres which include child domestics among their clients can use their experiences as a basis for changing public attitudes and policies. Certain key features of child domestics' situation prompt a specific handbook on this subject:

- @ **Lack of awareness that children working as domestics in other people's households are suffering from childhood deprivations and abuses of child rights;**
- @ **The working situation of child domestics is so different from that of other working children, in particular the ambiguity of their working status and their employment in a private home, that special advocacy approaches are necessary;**
- @ **Improvement in the lives of child domestic workers is dependent on changes in public attitudes and private behaviour, without which change in the law and in public policy will be impotent.**



What is advocacy?

"I keep reading this word 'advocacy', it seems to be the in-thing for NGOs to do.

What is it about?"

"Someone who speaks up for someone else - usually in court. Or they may speak against the person. That makes it sound rather frightening!"

"Well, advocacy is speaking up for some cause or group of people - but not in court necessarily. It might be in public, or it might be in private, it might be on a platform, it might be on television, it might be in school - wherever it seems likely to make a difference. The advocate might be anyone, not a lawyer necessarily. It might be a politician, a social worker, even a child!"

"So it's a fancy name for a publicity campaign."

"It's more than that, though a publicity campaign would probably be included. It might include education, or diplomacy, or publication of a report."

"Or a celebrity event with film stars?"

"That too!"

"Then I'm persuaded."

"Good.

My advocacy has worked!"



What do we know about children working as domestics?

Although the picture is incomplete, we are beginning to know much more about child domestic workers around the world thanks to the work of certain NGOs and support from international organisations. Local research studies have given us an insight into the working situation of many young domestics, and into the larger picture of parental and employer motivations for sending and receiving children into domestic work, and the networks which encourage the practice by organised recruitment and in some cases by trafficking.

Numbers are elusive, but the practice of employing children as domestics is very widespread. In Indonesia, over half a million girls under 18 are estimated to be working in the capital, Jakarta. In Brazil, Colombia and Ecuador, 20 per cent of all girls between ages 10 and 14 work as domestics, and in rural areas the percentage may rise above 30 per cent. In Togo, 95 per cent of all domestic workers are children aged between seven and 17.

In Philippines, four per cent of the country's estimated 766,000 domestic workers are aged between 10 and 14 years old, and 36 per cent between 15 and 19.

Wherever it occurs, child domestic employment has features in common. The invisibility and inaccessibility of the child workers have already been noted. Some of the other common features are as follows:

- @ Domestic work is arguably the lowest status and almost certainly the poorest paid of all childhood occupations;
- @ Most child domestics live in, are under the round-the-clock control of the employer, and have very little freedom or free time;
- @ About 90 per cent of child domestics are girls, and many are vulnerable to sexual exploitation;
- @ Given the nature of the work, those who enter it may be very young, very poor and/or ill-educated, and correspondingly powerless;
- @ Many child domestics are unpaid or underpaid; those who are paid may not handle their earnings themselves;
- @ Domestic servants are often recruited from particular areas or ethnic groups, which reinforces discrimination against them within the household;
- @ Child domestics are often cut off from their own families and have little or no opportunity to make friends or socialise with peers.

Sinaga Centre, Kenya

A study was undertaken by the Sinaga Women and Child Labour Resource Centre of Kariobangi, Nairobi, into 48 girl domestics enrolled at the centre with an average age of 13 years old. Among the findings were that few employers allowed their workers any time off at all, either during the day and evening, or as a rest day; this was in clear breach of the Kenyan Employment Act. Only 21 per cent of the girls were paid in cash, with 71 per cent receiving pay in kind, in the form of food, upkeep, and an occasional dress or pair of shoes. Of those paid in cash, very few handled the money themselves: it was normally given to the parents.



Report cover (working paper series) by Sinaga Women & Child Labour Resource Centre in collaboration with OXFAM

Whatever the common features, however, what emerges strongly from the many organisations now addressing this phenomenon in different localities is the wide diversity associated with child domestic employment. In a country such as Bangladesh, it is common for eight-year-olds to be employed as domestics, and equally common for a girl to lose her job when she reaches puberty and becomes sexually mature. In the Philippines, by contrast, and in many African and Latin America countries, it would be unusual for a girl aged less than 12 to be employed, and the likely age would be closer to 15 or above.

In some societies, particularly in parts of Africa where there is a tradition of sharing upbringing of children within the extended family, it has long been common for better-off couples, or those who live in town and have access to schooling, to bring up the children of other less advantaged members. This likelihood is increased in the case of orphanhood - common today because of HIV/AIDS - where the additional child or children may have been taken in because there was no other option, and represents an economic burden the family can ill-afford.

Where systems of adoption are not formalised, children living and working in such households are in a limbo somewhere between fosterhood, employment and servitude.

The situation of child domestics in Asian countries is usually less blurred: in Thailand and the Philippines, for example, there is normally a clear understanding of an employer-employee relationship, even if it is exploitative. However, in cultures with very strong systems of social hierarchy, the discrimination suffered by the domestic may be more pronounced. This discrimination may be reinforced by ingrained attitudes

about caste or ethnicity. In India, Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh the child domestic is likely to be younger than in other Asian countries.

Where the child is in his or her pre- or early-teens, the relationship is more ambiguous, and may be closer to patronage than employment.

Child Workers in Nepal

A study into the situation of child domestic workers in the Kathmandu Valley was conducted by Child Workers in Nepal (CWIN) in 1995. The study showed that 98 per cent of the child workers stayed at the home of their employer full-time, and worked from dawn to dusk. It is common for the children, around half of whom are girls, to rise at 5am and go to bed after 10pm. They may get some rest and leisure time during the day, and a few do go to school. But they are not expected to mingle on an equal basis with the children of the household or sit with the family at mealtimes or when watching television. In many cases the heavy burden of work and an inadequate diet has hindered their physical growth. More than 30 per cent receive no wages, and among those that do, the wage is extremely low. Around 14 per cent of the girls claim sexual abuse from men in the household, and their relatives or friends.



In Peru or Brazil, not only may the relationship be fully understood as that of household employee, but the employer may feel an obligation to send the teenaged girl to school in the evenings and generally help her up some kind of career or social ladder. In the Andean countries and Central America, the domestic is likely to come from a different ethnic group, and be seen as gaining an advantage from her employment which the employer - at least in a proportion of cases - conscientiously provides. In Haiti, by extreme contrast, children may be given or sold to families as servants at a very young age indeed, and their situation can be described in no other terms than slavery.

What are the negative effects of domestic work on children?

The risks, negative impacts and indignities faced by children in domestic work also vary widely.

In Bangladesh, India or Nepal, they may be at the employers' beck and call around the clock, and rarely leave the house. They may have no separate place to sleep, and only eat leftovers; this would be less common in Latin America. In places with less sense of social hierarchy, such as some parts of Africa, they would be more likely to be treated as members of the family.

In terms of physical well-being, the child domestic is not usually especially exposed to malnutrition or infectious disease, although he or she is at risk from fatigue and from domestic accidents such as burns, cuts and strained muscles. Intellectual development is typically impaired by lack of schooling, education and knowledge of no other skill than those used in the home. This deprivation is the one most commonly acknowledged, including by the child's employers. However, the impact which is usually most damaging, and the one to which child domestics themselves attest, is the emotional deprivation and lack of psycho-social care.

The child domestic is often deeply isolated and unhappy - which can be expressed in a sullenness and lack of co-operation which may itself excite the employer's wrath. The experience of being persistently spoken down to, scolded and ordered about imparts to the child a sense of worthlessness as a human being and a lack of will or capacity to assert any independence of spirit. Employers may encourage this in the name of good discipline, because the child's malleability is one of his or her principal assets as a worker.

Child domestic workers are also at risk of abuse, violence and sexual exploitation. Cases of routine cruelty and sexual abuse are reported in all environments where the practice has been studied. However, the degree to which these forms of abuse occur

Cajamarca, Peru

Girl workers in other people's homes in Peru are normally known as *cholas* (natives), not by their names.

This label is a form of discrimination which reduces their status and rights, designating them as servants instead of workers. In Cajamarca, a densely populated department where a mining boom has prompted a large-scale migration of rural workers, there is evidence of growing employment of under-age girls by 'newly rich' mining technocrats.

They start work at age seven under a type of informal guardianship and often without a salary. So-called 'aunts and uncles' are supposedly committed to providing them with education, food and a 'better future'.

Girls older than 12, who receive payment, earn the equivalent of a third of the absolute minimum salary. Their main responsibility is child care, a role they begin so early in life that it is regarded as 'natural' to them.

Their responsibilities mean that the girls enter school late and drop out early. The majority want to study in order to 'be someone in life', but this is usually denied them.

depends so heavily on attitudes and behaviours in the employer household that they are difficult to assess in general terms. Abusive employers may be found all over the world, as may kindly and generous patrons who take pride in helping their domestic workers along a successful path in life.

Although there are undoubtedly some girls, especially teenage girls, who do not have an unhappy experience of domestic employment and remain on friendly terms with previous employers throughout their lives, it is noteworthy that among child workers, children working as domestics typically express the view that their jobs compare unfavourably with those of others. This is because of their sense of inferiority, their isolation and their powerlessness against the behaviour of their employers.

What are the factors propelling children into domestic work?

Domestic service is one of the world's oldest occupations, and one in which children have traditionally played a part. Evidence for this can be found in folk stories all over the world. In pre-industrial societies, the domestic workload required to support daily life was extremely heavy and often included food production and the back-breaking task of foraging for water and fuel. Children naturally supported their mothers in shouldering this burden, and continue to do so today in environments where lifestyles continue unchanged. The work they undertake is seen as a natural part of upbringing.

As societies develop and households become more nucleated with fewer spare hands around to do the chores, families who have the means take others into their households to carry part of the domestic burden on their behalf. This was the case even in industrialised societies until recently. In many developing countries, where incomes are low, employment opportunities few, and education limited, an available pool of female and child labour to undertake menial occupations readily exists. The pattern of change in many countries today, where some families form part of the go-ahead, modern industrialised world while many others languish in an increasingly depressed and backward rural economy or on the squalid fringes of urban life, lends itself to the servitude of the poorest members to others who are better off.

As far as girls are concerned, domestic work is one of the few occupations for which no training is needed - or for which upbringing is itself the training. Under the stress of poverty, work that used to be undertaken as part of growing up in the child's own home or the house of a relative or friend is now undertaken for strangers, as a commercial arrangement. This arrangement has nothing to do with the development of the child or adolescent, under the eye of an adult who has a loving relationship with the child and is concerned to promote his or her best interests. On the contrary, the arrangement is designed to meet the best interests of the employer who has purchased the child's labour, and whose relationship with the child or adolescent is contingent on her satisfactory performance.

Thus what could best be described as a traditional family coping strategy to help disadvantaged children within the extended family group has been transformed into a form of childhood exploitation. Even if the practice works out well for all parties, including the child, that is its intrinsic nature.

In many societies, the uneven pattern of economic development is creating more demand for young domestic workers, and simultaneously creating more supply. Those entering the economic mainstream enjoy the income and have the motivation to employ domestics, while families marginalised and impoverished by the same modernisation process, or by HIV/AIDS, conflict or other local calamity, seek ever more desperate solutions to survive - including trading their children's labour.

As domestic workers, children and adolescents are often preferred to adults because they are cheaper to hire, more malleable and cost less to support. Their youth and dependence on their parents also means that they are unable to resist plans made on their behalf to send them away to the households of strangers - if it occurs to them to do so. The process of recruitment is becoming more organised, as agents and traffickers trawl rural areas offering incentives to parents.

The result is that more children and young people today are working in households in no way related to their own, often at considerable distance. This is the case in West Africa, where children may be taken far away to other countries, with little chance of re-establishing their links with home, and is also typical within countries such as Peru, Nepal and Thailand. Countries which experience high rates of internal migration, because of war - as in Colombia - or because of displacement from the land - as in India - are countries where the practice of employing under-age child domestics is on the rise.

Many parents who send their children away to work are naively convinced that the promises of a better life, of education and contact with the rich and powerful represent a genuine opportunity for their girls. They do not realise that a much more potent reality is drudgery, loneliness, loss of freedom and reduced childhood opportunity. The escape from poverty is the overwhelming motivation - both for themselves, for the girls and for the rest of their families. If the job does not work out, or the child is miserable or abused, she may be blamed for her plight unless her parents can be brought to see that her placement as a domestic in the house of a stranger is not a panacea for their own problems or her future happiness.

Distance from her community of origin, lack of self-esteem, illiteracy, and possibly pregnancy as a consequence of sexual abuse, frequently lead to the descent into prostitution of a child domestic dismissed for the most cursory of reasons. Reintegration with her home and admittance to some form of educational programme are central to any response strategy.

The many roles of advocacy

Advocacy has many different roles to play, and can take many different forms with many different audiences. This is the case when addressing the practice of employing children as domestic workers, as it would be around any other issue. The objective of an advocacy campaign could be to outlaw the practice of child domestic work under a certain age, it could be to improve the terms and conditions of child domestic work, or it might be to provide special services for child domestic servants. All such objectives need to be worked out in any given locality, on the basis of analysis of the problem, what will best respond to needs, and what is likely to be practicable.

The subsequent chapters in this book are intended to help organisations and individuals concerned about child domestic workers work out what they want to do, where advocacy will fit in, who it should be addressed to and what messages it should contain. The next chapter is primarily about deciding what advocacy is intended to achieve; the following chapter is about advocacy techniques, or the how of advocacy, as well as the audiences, the who. By the end of the book, the reader should be equipped to develop an advocacy strategy around child domestic workers and have the confidence to carry it out. It is important to have some means of measuring what kind of impact advocacy is having on actual or potential child domestic workers, and whether their situation is getting better or worse. It is possible to generate a lot of public concern around the victims of an exploitative practice, but if those taking part in the debate are far from the scene of the crime and have no influence over it, useful impact can be hard to detect .



With other advocacy efforts, there may be a sense of frustration because there is little public noise, but behind the scenes attitudes are detectably changing.

In the case of child domestic workers, the wrong kind of advocacy could lead to those involved as recruiters, traffickers, or employers making sure that the children are even more hidden, invisible and inaccessible than they already are. This could worsen their situation, at least in the short term, rather than improve it. All advocacy needs to be strategically planned, and this handbook should help that to happen.

My goodness, there's so much to do!

"My goodness, there's so much to do I don't know where to start! We'll have to persuade the parents to see things differently, we'll have to persuade the employers, we'll have to talk to MPs..."

"Yes of course we will, but that's not what's bothering me!"

"You mean you think that's easy?"

"Not at all.

The problem is - what are we going to say?"



"It's obvious isn't it? The practice of employing children as domestic workers should cease tomorrow!"

"So they should all be thrown out onto the streets? I thought we were trying to help them."

"Oh dear, I hadn't thought of that."

Summary

Among child workers, those working as domestics are among the most numerous, and also the most hidden, invisible, and inaccessible. Special advocacy approaches are needed to bring the practice out into the open, and persuade employers, parents and society at large that it is often exploitative and damaging to childhood. Advocacy can take many forms and be devoted to many different objectives. This handbook is intended to help NGOs and others plan, carry out and assess advocacy activity around and with child domestic workers in an effective manner.

Chapter Two

A framework for advocacy: What are we trying to do?

I want to make a major impact!

"I want to make a major impact on policy-makers and public opinion - that's why I'm planning an advocacy campaign!"

"Good for you! But are you sure it will have a major impact?"

"Well, it might ... "

"What if it has a minor impact or no impact at all?"

"I can only try!"

"Wouldn't it be better to spend the same resources and energy on actually helping some child domestic servants lead a better life?"

"If I do that, I only reach a few of them. And more are being recruited every day! I'll never be able to reach them all."

"So you want policy-makers and people in the public eye to take the lead?"

"Absolutely! They'll make the difference!"

"But why would they listen to you?"

"Now that's a big question."



Most organisations embark on advocacy on behalf of a particular group of people or a cause because they recognise that their own resources are far too small to make more than a small practical dent in a problem. A few NGOs exist purely to undertake advocacy - to campaign for legal or policy change - on behalf of their cause; Anti-Slavery is one such organisation. But the majority of NGOs come into existence to help a particular group - working children for example - in practical ways. They may start an educational or health programme, a hotline or a drop-in centre. However, they often feel that, valuable though this is for the children assisted, their efforts amount to no more than a drop in the ocean. Some children are rescued from exploitation and rehabilitated, but only a few. They know that a major change in society is needed to end the exploitative employment of children generally. This is the process which leads organisations towards advocacy as a tool for bringing about the kind of change that will ultimately help far greater numbers of their potential target group than they could ever help on their own. But the idea that 'advocacy is the answer' has in-built dangers.

Advocacy means any activity intended to raise consciousness among decision-makers and the general public about an issue or a disadvantaged group, with a view to bringing about changes in policy and improvements in their situation

A lot of resources are frequently spent on advocacy which shows little immediate impact on the problem, or appear to have some impact but cannot measurably prove it. The results of advocacy can be elusive. The ground may be laid for a change in legislation or public attitudes, but this may be hard to detect - especially in the early stages. The amount of overall impact achieved by a small-scale practical project can be frustrating, but its results are at least tangible for actual children. Assumptions that advocacy will automatically achieve much more on their behalf should be avoided. It takes a great deal to get an issue widely noticed, let alone to transform social attitudes around it. Not only does advocacy often enter an organisation's range of activities after, and because of, the practical help provided for their target group - in this case, working children. Advocacy may also depend for much of its effectiveness on that practical programme of assistance.

What gives an organisation the right and the authority to speak up for its target group? Anti-Slavery has a reputation stretching back over 150 years. UNICEF, ILO and Save the Children are similarly well-known, and when they speak up on an issue their voice is respected. But smaller, more localised NGOs do not have this longstanding reputation. They can cite UN conventions, such as the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, and that helps confer authority. But it is rarely enough. Their credentials mainly lie in their proximity to and knowledge of their cause. In the case of working children, this usually means the expertise derived from their practical programmes, and the authenticity provided by the voices of the children and workers involved. Where this is supplemented by research, the authority with which they speak will be greatly enhanced. This is why sound research is an important pre-requisite for advocacy.

When advocacy is effective it is usually because it is:

- @ Based on facts, not on suppositions; authoritative not sensational;
- @ Draws upon practical experience and shows legitimacy for claims it makes;
- @ Carefully and strategically planned, over the short- and longer-term;
- @ Closely involves, and honestly represents, any group on whose behalf it is undertaken, who speak for themselves whenever possible.

When advocacy is ineffective, it may be because it is:

- @ Undertaken by an organisation with no established reputation surrounding the issue;
- @ Not grounded in facts, nor vouched for by those on whose behalf it is undertaken;
- @ Unconnected to any practical programme of assistance, and therefore its messages may be greeted with suspicion or scepticism;
- @ Ill thought-out and unclear in what it is trying to achieve.

Involving child domestic workers themselves

An important principle underpins everything in this handbook: child domestic workers themselves need to be involved in all efforts on their behalf. Their views should be canvassed in research studies, their ideas should be taken into account in practical interventions, and their voices should be heard in advocacy. Where programme action is being assessed, here too it will be essential to invite their views.

continued over



(cont)

Children's right to participation is established in the Convention on the Rights of the Child. This international recognition of the principle helps to legitimise it in settings where children's voices are still rarely heard. But the most important point is that programmes of action - including advocacy action - on behalf of child domestics will have little chance of working unless children themselves participate. They need to be part of the process which decides on the messages of a campaign, for example, and where practicable be able and willing to act as cheerleaders for it.

Providing a context in which children can articulate and express their views about their experiences as workers - within an educational or recreational programme, for example - contributes to their personal development. Enabling older children to influence, even operate, services and self-help organisations ensures that those services will meet their own priority needs. Providing a platform for them to express their views in stories, dramas, songs, and role-plays to target audiences is one of the most effective forms of advocacy with those whose behaviour needs to change.

The following are the gains of involving child domestics in advocacy:

- @ Authenticity of messages and statements;
- @ Persuasiveness with audiences of parents and employers;
- @ Personal development and confidence-building of the domestics;
- @ Feedback on whether action is appropriate and effective.

The following are some of the difficulties:

- @ Child domestics are inaccessible unless enrolled in a programme;
- @ Children with low self-esteem have difficulty articulating their views; this may take time;
- @ Age and maturity have an important influence on their contribution;
- @ It is important to involve children meaningfully, not symbolically.

Advocacy should be part of an integrated programme of action

Advocacy is not an easy short cut - far from it. To yield solid gains for the intended beneficiaries, it needs to be bolstered by other kinds of action, or else the publicity generated may be like a shooting star - brief excitement and then nothing. Therefore, advocacy should not be undertaken in isolation from a wider programmatic context. It is important to position it within a framework of research and practical action involving more than the limited idea of making a loud public noise - which is all that advocacy means to some decision-makers, thus earning it negative connotations.

Where the impression is given that advocacy is purely adversarial, or political, and is primarily intended to shame government or some social group, there may be a backlash against it. Public confrontation and controversy should be used with caution. They may lead to penalties against organisations and individuals involved, especially those who have raised their voices, which may include child domestic workers themselves. To escape public disapproval, employers of children have been known to throw them out on the street.

It is sensible, therefore, to have undertaken a practical programme of action and become recognised as knowledgeable and professionally authoritative on the issues



surrounding child domestic work before rushing into advocacy. The goals of advocacy will then naturally be consistent with the goals of practical work: the two types of action can reinforce one another. Very often, the practical component acts as a springboard, a resource base, or a pointer for the advocacy component. When advocacy messages are challenged, practical experience and working children themselves can vouch for their authenticity. There should, therefore, be a close and inter-active relationship between an organisation's information base, its practical interventions, and the advocacy it undertakes. Advocacy will work best when it is part of a total programme, and is strategically undertaken within a well thought-out programme process.

This process can be described as circular [see diagram, next page]. First comes assessment of the problem, which requires research and data-collection. Once the information has been analysed, action based on it can be undertaken. This is likely to consist of a set of practical interventions, and advocacy as a parallel and interconnected activity. Once actions have been underway for some time, it will be necessary to make a new assessment to see what has been achieved, take stock of lessons learned, and adjust the existing programme of action or design a new one. In order to be able to undertake a new assessment, it will have been necessary to decide in advance of the initial programme how the actions are to be monitored and measured.

Many organisations start out by responding to a need with action of one kind or another, and do not proceed very scientifically to begin with. For example, a concerned individual or NGO may launch a social programme for young domestic workers on their day off - as has happened in both Peru and Philippines - without first undertaking any detailed assessment. As things progress, they may feel the need to do some research, and expand their services or develop an advocacy component building on what they have learned.

It is important, when developing an advocacy approach, to ensure that there are strong links with other parts of the programme - assessment and practical interventions. Where these two elements are weak, advocacy will also tend to be weak. Never imagine that advocacy efforts will somehow compensate for disappointing results in other parts of the programme. A rounded approach based on facts and dependable information will provide mutual reinforcement to different components.

I'm not sure how advocacy is going to help...

"I'm not sure how advocacy is going to help me solve my main problem concerning child domestics."

"Which is what?"

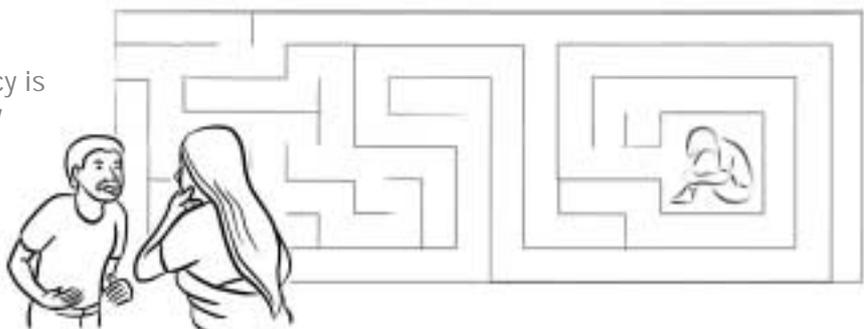
"They are so inaccessible. I know there are many young girls in households in this city, and I'm sure

some are little better than slaves and almost none are going to school. But I can't reach them. How will advocacy help me do that?"

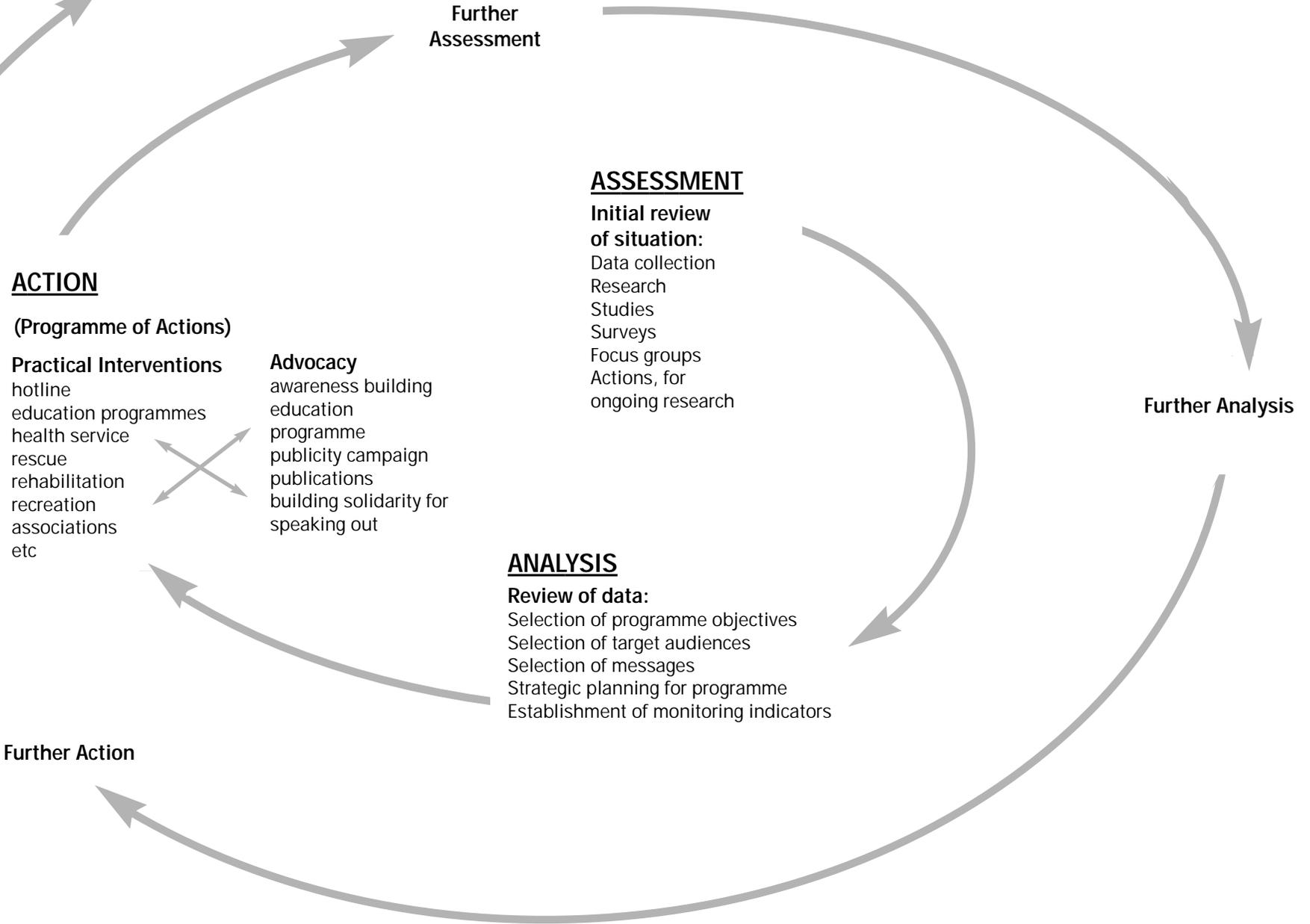
"It might make people more concerned. Then they might tell other people that such-and-such a family has a young girl working in their household."

"Yes, it might bring information into the open."

"And begin to change attitudes."



An integrated approach to advocacy



Establishing objectives: What are we trying to achieve?

In developing a programme to improve the situation of child domestics, we first need to work out the objectives we are trying to achieve. This applies whether the programme is mainly concerned with practical interventions, or with advocacy, or gives equal attention to both. There may be several objectives, in which case we will need to set them in some kind of framework and attach to them an order of priority over time.

Any selection of objectives will mainly be guided by an informed perception of the situation of child domestics in the locality, reached by the assessment and analysis process. But it will also be guided to a considerable extent by who we are and what practical methods we have at our disposal to achieve those objectives. It is important not to be over-ambitious, or choose objectives which set us up for failure in advance.

Note that advocacy objectives and practical objectives will almost invariably be the same because they are all driving at the same goal. Practical interventions and advocacy should support each other: for example, where a service provided is non-formal education, it would obviously be a good idea to focus on the need for all children including domestic workers to have an education as one of the advocacy messages. How different types of activity fit together in practice is covered in chapter four.

When confronting an issue such as child domestic work, it is necessary to have in mind a long-term, **overall** objective; but for the purposes of advocacy (and services) activity at the present time, set some **stepping-stone** objectives which are more achievable over the shorter-term. These might be laid out over a time-scale of several years, allowing for a gradual build up of both capacity and impact to bring the long-term objective closer. There may be objectives which fall into both long-term and short-term categories, which act as both ends and means of reaching overall objectives. For example, making child domestics more visible and accessible. If this objective were achieved, all long-term objectives would be more obtainable.

Different objectives

Examples of overall objectives:

- @ The removal of all children under 14 from domestic employment;
- @ Access to education for all child domestic workers;
- @ All child domestics be able to join an organisation with their peers for recreation, mutual support, and counselling;
- @ Regulations, backed by government, for employment of domestic workers;
- @ An end to the trafficking of child domestic workers.

Such objectives will be **long-term** and difficult to achieve, even if endorsed by leadership figures in society. So it will be necessary to work out a strategy which will have many stages and take several years. One element of an advocacy approach to achieve these objectives might be to articulate them as time-bound targets. For example, **All child domestics under the age of 14 should be removed from the workplace by 200x**, and then try and gain endorsement from government, leadership figures and other NGOs.

continued over



Different objectives (cont)

Examples of stepping-stone objectives:

- @ Child domestic workers be made more visible to the society, and be recognised as child workers;
- @ Child domestic workers become more accessible to those providing practical assistance;
- @ The development of an alliance of NGOs and international organisations to campaign on child domestic workers' rights;
- @ Cases of trafficking and abuse of child domestics be brought to court;
- @ The recruitment of a number of key individuals and institutions to endorse the goals described above.

Such objectives can be seen as **immediate** or **medium-term**; they contribute over time, in a cumulative fashion, to achieving the overall goal(s). They can be seen both as ends in themselves, and as means to accomplish the longer-term objectives.

What are you trying to do?

"What are you trying to do about these child domestics?"

"I should have thought that was obvious! Remove them from employment."

"Suppose they don't want to be removed from their jobs?"

"What will they do then?"

"Go home of course. And go to school."

"What if their family doesn't want them back? And how will they pay their school fees if they have no money?"

"Maybe they should stay in their jobs until they can be reintegrated with their families ..."

"When will that be?"

"I don't know ... The problem is, they should not have been sent out to work in the first place."

"So what did you say you are trying to do about child domestics exactly?"



The four key areas

Organisations already active on behalf of child domestic workers have identified four different overall objectives for advocacy programmes on their behalf. These are as follows:

- @ To remove child domestic workers from the workplace;
- @ To improve their terms and conditions of work
- @ To rehabilitate child domestic workers and reintegrate them into a normal childhood environment;
- @ To prevent children entering into domestic employment or servitude.

Organisations planning to undertake advocacy may want to consider these four overall objectives and consider which one is their primary concern, and which one they are likely to be able to advocate most effectively. Other considerations will need to be borne in mind: the age of the domestics will play an important role, as well as many other practicalities, including the existing level of contact with the authorities, availability of resources, and media receptiveness. Alternatively, organisations may prefer to attach to them an order of priority to guide decisions about where to devote most effort, or how to phase efforts and activities over time.

In selecting the objective(s) on which you are going to focus, at least initially, it will make sense to examine your own expertise, information base, and existing interventions. Where child domestic workers themselves have stated their own priorities, these should help guide any decision.

1. Advocacy to remove child domestics from the workplace

Child domestics, whatever their age, are unlikely to have all their rights fulfilled (see box in previous chapter). Some may suffer acutely from gross abuse or exploitation. However, it is not the case that gross abuse is intrinsic to all employment of young domestic workers. Where this occurs, it is due to the particular behaviour of the employers. So although child workers of any age should be removed from abusive households or be helped to remove themselves, it is not appropriate to call for the removal of all child workers from all households. Finding ways whereby their rights as children can be fulfilled while they continue to work may also be appropriate.

As a general rule, the simple benchmark of age can be used to distinguish in policy between those children who should be removed from the workplace, and those for whom improved working terms and conditions will help remedy their situation. Age 14 can be seen as the cut-off. The international norm for age of entry into paid work, according to ILO Convention 138 on minimum age of employment, is 15 years, with the caveat that in some countries age 14 will be acceptable so long as there is an intention to amend to 15 as soon as possible.

Whatever the local norm in practice or in legislation, it is fair to assume that a girl or boy under the age of 14 will be too immature, physically and in terms of emotional and psychological strength, to take on a job where there may be no adult caring or protective guidance. Their capacity to defend themselves against abusive treatment, by negotiation or by seeking a position elsewhere, will be negligible, especially in the case of very young children. Such children are additionally deprived of education and conditioned into a servant persona with very low self-esteem.

Where advocacy efforts target the removal of all children under age 14 from the domestic workplace, they have international legitimacy under the relevant conventions, and will be eligible for international support.



National Domestic Workers Movement, India

The National Domestic Workers Movement in Mumbai classifies live-in child domestic workers by age: those aged from five to 14; those aged from 14-18. Some of these children are effectively bonded by their parents to their employers, as a favour, or until a



loan is repaid. This is in contravention of Indian law. The Movement advocates the removal from the workplace of all children under age 14, and works through communities in the city such as religious groups, youth and student movements, community centres, women's and workers' groups and school children to highlight the issues and sensitise people accordingly. The Movement works through adolescent and adult domestic workers to reach young child domestics, for example, when they go to collect the employer family's milk supply from a collection point early in the morning. If a girl is suffering abuse, in need of

help or wants to run away, crisis support is provided and efforts made to reintegrate the child with her own family.

2. Advocacy to improve terms and conditions of work

Advocacy efforts to improve terms and conditions of work for child domestics, while they may be implicitly or explicitly aimed at teenaged workers, should have the effect of improving terms and conditions for all ages. This may be seen as a full objective in itself, given that employment of those aged 14/15 and above is legal in most countries and is likely to continue. Alternatively, it might be seen as a stepping-stone objective, helping to create circumstances where the employment of children in other people's households comes to an end. There are many aspects of the terms and conditions of most child domestics' work which need improvement. These include:

- @ Lack of pay or low pay;
- @ Very long working hours;
- @ Little opportunity for play, rest or recreation;
- @ No school attendance;
- @ Discrimination, in particular being treated as an inferior being;
- @ The likelihood of physical punishment or verbal abuse if the performance of any duty is thought inadequate;
- @ Poor sleeping quarters and lack of privacy;
- @ Inadequate diet;
- @ Lack of proper attention in the case of illness;
- @ Little or no opportunity to maintain contact with parents and relatives.



Ain O Salish Kendra (ASK), Bangladesh

A programme run by ASK in Bangladesh provides health, education and legal protection (HELP) for child workers. Access to health care is provided in co-operation with employers and guardians, at community clinics and local hospitals. Educational needs are met at the five drop-in centres run by ASK specifically set up to provide a flexible system of learning as and when the child's working schedule permits. The concept of drop-out is replaced by the choice to drop in at any time. Registration with the programme requires parental consent. If the child's attendance increases and significant progress is made, the centre will encourage the child to enrol in formal school. ASK is primarily a human rights organisation. Legal aid and rescue is provided for children suffering from violence or abuse.

Even if advocacy seeks to improve all terms and conditions of work, it may be necessary to single out certain key areas as a focus so that the message is as clear as possible.

The pre-condition for the improvement of working conditions is attitude change among employers. Thus it may be necessary to identify some aspect of child domestic workers' lives which will cause an employer to sit up and think, and perhaps see her child worker in a different light - without alienating her by labelling her as cruel or exploitative.

The question of how to bring employers on to the side of those keen to improve terms and conditions of child domestic employment needs sensitive handling and will come up in many parts of this handbook.

Things can only get better



3. Advocacy to rehabilitate and reintegrate child domestic workers

It is important to bear in mind that calling for the removal of children of any age from the workplace, or contributing to bringing such an outcome about, has implications. What will happen to the children concerned? What alternatives do 10-year-olds and 12-year-olds adrift in an urban centre actually have?

Many working children, in domestic situations as in others, have been put there by their parents. They envisage no alternative to some kind of job which will earn themselves or their parents money. Some cannot go home, even if they thought they would be welcome, either because home is very far away and they do not know how or do not have the fare. Others may not want to - the home may be abusive or violent - or know that their parents will be annoyed and simply send them out to work again. Without a place of safety, shelter or care, they are likely to seek a new domestic situation at the earliest opportunity. Or they will take up a less safe, more vulnerable and

potentially more abusive occupation on the street.

Thus calls for the removal of child domestic workers from employing households need to consider in advance their prospects of rehabilitation, by reintegration in their families or where this is impracticable by integration into some other suitable setting. Where a safe house, or temporary shelter and help to return home or pursue some other walk of life is not available, advocacy of this kind should be postponed. To encourage children to leave a post without taking any responsibility for what happens to them would be irresponsible. It might be better instead to focus on prevention, targeting the families of child domestics rather than employers or the children themselves.

4. Advocacy to prevent entry of children into domestic work

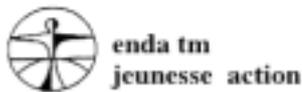
Prevention is ultimately better than cure. There are a number of places - among employers, among policy-makers - where pressure might be applied to prevent children entering domestic work. But the most effective method of prevention would be to dry up the supply of child domestics. Relevant education of good quality and better employment opportunities will ultimately contribute to this outcome. But in the mean time, the best way to prevent children entering the workplace is to persuade their parents to keep them at home and at school, and help make that seem a practicable and desirable proposition.



Mike Sheil/Black Star

ENDA, Senegal

ENDA in Senegal has been working with child domestics for several years, and has recently begun addressing the issue of prevention. Young domestic workers in Dakar identify those people in their village of origin who have most influence in the community. These include the town criers, traditional leaders, local teachers and staff from local clinics and dispensaries. Meetings - 'Free Forums' - are held in the village square in which these young workers talk about their experiences and provoke a general discussion. They themselves identify the problems and what can be done about them. Journalists are invited, and sketches, poems and songs are performed. The message is that girls should be kept in the village and sent to school.



In countries where recruiters and traffickers go to rural areas and tempt families with cash payments and promises of golden opportunities, their activities also need to be prevented. This may require exposing the practices of trafficking networks and their collaborators at national borders or in countries of passage, and trying to ensure that prosecutions are brought against them.

Prioritising objectives

Many considerations specific to the locality and circumstances of child domestic work should be taken into account in deciding how to order objectives. Some of the more obvious

include:

- @ Age of children in domestic work: If the majority of children working as domestics are 14/15 and above, this would imply that more advocacy effort should be devoted to improving terms and conditions of service than to removing them from employment, and vice versa.
- @ Recruitment process: Where recruiters, agents or traffickers are active, advocacy may need to focus strongly on prevention.
- @ Degree of servitude and exploitation: Where children are effectively lost to their parental home and are virtually or actually in slavery, this implies that rescue and rehabilitation should take a high priority.
- @ Existence of alternative options: Advocacy to remove child domestic workers entirely from the workplace should not be undertaken until there are alternatives awaiting them.
- @ Trends in child work: Where the trend is for an increase in child domestic employment, because of commercialisation or because of orphanhood from HIV/AIDS, this may affect priorities.
- @ Existing social attitudes: Where the practice of employing child domestics is seen as a form of surrogate parenting as oppose to employment, this may also affect priorities.



Measuring progress towards the achievement of objectives

Under any objective, a number of measurable targets can be set. These may show concrete advance towards the overall objective - eg, XX number of child domestics enrolled in school; or they might be related to the process or strategy devised to reach the objective - eg, XX number of self-help organisations set up by child domestic workers.

Advocacy achievements are notoriously difficult to measure. Without costly household surveys before and after a campaign, how do you measure whether social attitudes have changed? But it is possible to set targets for programme objectives and

measure how well you are doing. For example, if developing an alliance of like-minded organisations is part of the strategy for exposing the issue and starting to change public attitudes, it may help to have a target number of members of the alliance and a target set of joint advocacy activities: so many meetings, so many public announcements, so many new members, etc.

If visibility of the issue is important, targets might include numbers of mentions in the press and on television, numbers of child domestic case histories recorded and published, or recruitment of one or more prominent and public figures to the cause - celebrities, First Ladies, Ministers or their spouses, etc.

The accomplishment of these targets does not necessarily mean that there has been a major impact on the practice, but some degree of attitudinal change can be inferred. They can be seen as 'proximate' or surrogate



indications that social change is getting underway. On the other hand, if you suddenly detect a breakthrough after a long period when progress was slight, be careful to work out why this occurred - it may not have been exclusively to do with you! If a push is coming from somewhere else, be sure to throw your efforts behind that, rather than enter a competition of 'We achieved this!' 'No, it was us!' If change really gathers momentum, allow others to take the credit where appropriate. Many organisations embark on advocacy campaigns without giving much thought in advance to how they will monitor or measure progress. It is important to avoid this. More ideas about how advocacy efforts can be assessed are provided in Chapter five.

Exercise: Sorting out advocacy objectives

First, list the four overall objectives already described (on page 18) in order of your priority, eliminating any which you do not think it necessary or appropriate to tackle in the next five years.

Under each heading, identify one or more stepping-stone objectives for the medium or short term. Examples: generate more awareness of children's rights; increase understanding of childhood needs; pass law/regulation about domestics' working hours, with attention to under-18s. Alongside each objective, identify a target and ways of measuring whether progress has been made towards fulfilment.

Then identify several actions related to these objectives. Examples: start child domestic clubs; enlist employers in an awareness programme; raise awareness in schools; enrol religious leaders or community leaders in programme; familiarise media with issue. Do not give a great deal of attention to the types of action and technique at present - these are covered in the next chapter.

You might want to hold a workshop with colleagues to do this exercise. Objectives, targets, and actions could all be written on separate, differently-coloured pieces of paper. They could be pinned up and rearranged according to consensus on priorities.

The final stage is to organise all the objectives into a framework with a time-line as to how and when they might be reached. You might want to postpone this part of the exercise until later in the planning stage.

Summary

Advocacy needs to be a part of an overall programme with a rounded approach. Before developing an advocacy approach, it is important to work out what you are trying to achieve over the long-term. Your overall objectives will guide you to other intermediate and shorter-term objectives which provide stepping-stones towards the ultimate goal. These will enable you to decide on the appropriate actions to take. Being able to measure progress towards the fulfilment of objectives is important.

Chapter Three

Advocacy techniques and target audiences

The previous chapter addressed the question of what advocacy might be trying to achieve. This chapter introduces a range of techniques - the 'how' possibilities. The techniques selected will depend both on the 'what' and on the 'who' - the target audience. Any advocacy strategy will be a balance between these three ingredients.

The techniques have been divided into 'quiet advocacy' and 'loud advocacy'. Quiet advocacy will be used in circumstances where more intimate discussion and personal persuasion is likely to be productive, and where an atmosphere of public criticism and confrontation is best avoided.

Loud advocacy implies publicity, and therefore tends to reach a wider audience less personally or directly. It has the attraction of being potentially more cost-effective in raising issues before the public and in changing attitudes. However, if loud advocacy is insensitive and succeeds in publicly excoriating the very people whose attitudes you are trying to change, or in alienating influential policy-makers, it will be counter-productive.

In most advocacy strategies, a combination of quiet and loud techniques should be employed. Often, these will reinforce each other. When you are dealing with a difficult and sensitive subject, especially one which some people in the public eye may wish to ignore, it is sensible not to start out with a loud fanfare of noise. It is better to build up a network of allies by quiet advocacy, and slowly reach the point where you have the confidence to embark on something louder.

This is particularly the case where members of your team need to develop their expertise, or are not yet ready to thrust themselves forward in attention-grabbing efforts. Unless you are an extrovert person and prepared to face controversy and disapproval, loud advocacy can be intimidating.

It is also worth bearing in mind that any part of a programme undertaken to improve the situation of child domestic workers will contain within it opportunities for advocacy. For example, if you are running a service such as an educational programme, there is an opportunity for advocacy with teachers and employers of children attending. If you are undertaking a survey, there is an opportunity for advocacy with enumerators or data processors. If possible, students or others employed in these roles should be advocates in the future. It may be worth considering this when interviewing candidates.

Isn't this entirely a women's kind of thing?

"It seems to me that this child domestic work business is only to do with women. The child domestics are girls, and the employers are all women."

"What are you trying to say?"

"All your efforts will have to be directed at women. They are the ones who will have to change."

"Women are obviously an important audience. But what about the men in the household?"

"They may also treat the domestic workers badly, or even sexually exploit them!"

"There's some truth in that ..."

"And are you saying that men have no influence in the household, that women run the household without a thought of doing what the men require?"

"Well no. But we all know that domestic activity is a woman's domain."

"So you're saying that men should do nothing to share the burden or help with domestic chores?"

"Not exactly ..."



Quiet advocacy

1. Interpersonal techniques

There is a lot to be said for direct interaction with key actors - parents, employers and child domestics themselves, as well as others who could become part of an alliance - teachers, village elders, priests, imams, community leaders, NGOs, government workers, journalists, public figures, politicians, etc.

The first task will be to work out how you can reach the target audience - a particularly difficult issue as far as employers and child domestic workers themselves are concerned. Some organisations have used their imagination to work out where child workers can be found outside the household, either in the course of their working activities or on their day off. The National Domestic Workers Movement in Mumbai contacts working children early in the morning at milk collection points; Grupo de Trabajo Redes in Peru also contacts child domestic workers in the early morning - this time at bakeries when they go to buy bread for the household. Several organisations have overcome the problem of reaching employers by doing so via the services they provide. The following chapter gives more detailed examples of strategies which have worked.

The next most important thing is to plan ahead exactly what message you want to put across, and in particular what it is you want the person or people in your target audience to do as a result of the interaction. The message must not come across as a lecture or a harangue. It should respect the values of those for whom it is intended, and there should be something in the message that could appeal to their interests.

WAO Afrique, Togo

WAO Afrique, Togo, has undertaken advocacy with parents to persuade them to re-evaluate childhood and set more store by investing in their children, especially girls. They put across the idea that a child is a richness and source of wealth, not someone to be wasted. One device they use is story-telling.

They remind parents that when they leave this world, the funeral oration will dwell on what they have left behind - their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Then they invite them to consider the story of three farmers. The first farmer sells his maize while it is still growing in the field. The second farmer sells his maize when it is still fresh, grilling it by the side of the road. The third farmer waits for it to dry and bags it up and takes it to the market, where it will get the highest price. They draw a parallel with education: in the case of the child in whom investment is prolonged, that child will become a person in whom the family can be proud - a soldier, a teacher, a doctor.



There should also be an opportunity for dialogue - for its recipients to respond. For example, if the message is to parents that it would be better to keep their girls at home and send them to school, then the opportunities both to the girl and to the family of doing this should be underlined. They should not be talked down to as if they are ignorant.



I tried to tell them about children's rights

"Today I had a meeting with the parents of a child domestic, and I told them they had abused their daughter's rights."

"And did they agree?"

"They didn't know what I was talking about. They've never heard of the Convention, or child rights."

"So I suppose you informed them?"

"Yes I did. It took me ages to explain."

"What did they say after that?"

"They said the Convention had nothing to do with them.

They couldn't afford to keep their daughter at home and that was that."

"Oh dear, these people are ignorant."

"Actually it's me that was ignorant. I should have asked them if their daughter was happy and had good prospects in life."

Interpersonal approaches can be undertaken with groups, or by meetings with individuals, families or households. Some organisations have found that where a first-hand account of experiences is given by a child domestic, for example to parents, teachers or village elders in sending communities, persuasion is much more effective. Where a domestic cannot be present in person, case histories are the next best thing - preferably on video.

2. Sketches and dramas

Sketches and dramas which depict the predicaments faced by child domestics and some of the problems they encounter can be extremely useful in quiet advocacy. These can be performed in schools, at women's group meetings, or in other community settings. If child domestics themselves take part, and especially if they actually write them, they will seem more authentic and compelling.

ENDA, Sanayo



A playlet, entitled Sanayo meaning 'we are tired' was conceived and put on by young domestic workers to portray their problems. It was performed at a preparatory meeting for the OAU conference in 1993 on assisting the African child. It has since been staged in a number of locations in Dakar.

The scene consists of a patronne or employer who takes on a Housegirl and then subjects her to abuse in front of her friends for failures of service, food preparation, and other tasks. The friends join in the mockery of the girl, and the patronne's young daughter accuses her unjustly of stealing and other misbehaviour. She is eventually fired, without salary.

One of the reasons for the effectiveness of this medium is that messages can be put across in a non-blaming and non-confrontational way. Many parents who send their children to a distant town a job as a domestic have little if any idea that their children typically suffer as a result - from inadequate food, from poor conditions of work, lack of pay, and sometimes from abuse. They do not appreciate that their child may be very unhappy. Discovering what she might be enduring from a sketch or play is easier to absorb and less accusatory. Songs and poems are similarly effective, as are stories. Many folk cultures have a version of the Cinderella story [see box] , which can be used to illustrate the situation of a child domestic in an oppressive household, inviting the audience to suggest more likely outcomes.

The Cinderella story

The story of Cinderella - which comes from Central Europe - is about a girl whose mother died, and whose father remarried. The new wife, Cinderella's step-mother, has two daughters of her own, and she and these girls treat Cinderella as their servant. She works day and night for them, and lives in the kitchen - among the ash and cinders of the kitchen fire from which her name is derived. The miserable life she is forced to live as a result of her mother's death has resonance for orphans in every society, and many folk stories from different parts of the world have similar heroines.



The story eventually leads to a happy outcome. When Cinderella's stepmother and step-sisters go off to a Royal ball, her fairy god-mother appears and magically gives her a beautiful dress and helps her go too. There she meets the Prince, who falls in love with her. Although her identity is a mystery, a search throughout the kingdom finally discovers her because no-one else has a foot small enough to fit the glass slipper she left behind. So she is released from her life of drudgery to become a princess.

It is not unusual for the parents of today's child domestics to hope that their daughters, too, will come into contact with a rich and successful marriage partner. But despite the girls' dreams, they rarely have access to the magic which rescued Cinderella from her miserable existence.

Some of these creative depictions of the plight of child domestics may be effectively used in louder advocacy activity [see below]. Street theatre sketches can be performed in market places, at railway stations and similar public venues. Story and poetry competitions can be run in children's media.

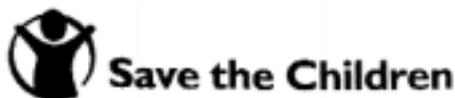
3. Getting together: a network of the like-minded

Building a network of like-minded individuals and organisations requires advocacy, and is itself a stepping-stone for louder, more widespread advocacy. This may be done by individual initiative, following the same approach as described under interpersonal advocacy: keep the message simple and know what it is you want the person you are soliciting to do.

An alternative is to hold an actual event, such as a workshop or conference, to which you can invite potential like-minded individuals and organisations. Videos, sketches and songs can be presented. A meeting may enable a network or alliance of organisations to be formally established. In the case of an event, this also provides an opportunity for louder advocacy: the event can be reported in the media.

Save the Children UK (SC UK), South America

As a first step towards developing a regional strategy for the elimination of the harmful employment of children in other people's houses, SC UK hosted a Technical Meeting in Lima, Peru, in September 1999. Selected organisations from seven countries (Colombia, Haiti, Brazil, Peru, Paraguay, Ecuador and Bolivia) attended, together with the Latin America and Caribbean Confederation of Household Workers, some government officials and representatives of UNICEF, ILO/IPEC and SC UK. This was the first ever regional attempt in Latin America to build organisational awareness around child domestic work. As a result of the meeting, a programme of different activities in the various countries has been developed. This programme has as its purpose to effect a transformation in attitudes and practices surrounding the employment of girls in the household, via changes in law, morality, attitudes and behaviour. In the context of advocacy, the programme is attempting to strengthen the arguments behind the defence of child and adolescent household workers and their rights. A wide-ranging partnership of grass-roots organisations, labour unions, NGOs, media and the authorities is being developed. Gender and rights perspectives are included, and housework is to be acknowledged as work and not as a surrogate form of upbringing.



When setting up a network, have a clear picture in mind what its objective is primarily expected to be so that you focus on the right potential partners. Is it going to share programme experiences? Is it going to set up a joint research project? Is it going to provide a platform for child domestic workers to speak out on their own behalf? Co-operative work between organisations can be difficult and time-consuming, so it should not be done for its own sake. There should be clear gains for strengthening organisational muscle and leverage over public policy.

In the case of trafficking, especially between countries, joint action by organisations at the different ends of the chain is essential. Building a network at regional or inter-country level, including representatives of government and law enforcement agencies, is a likely priority.

Loud advocacy

1. Media and press campaigns

When the word advocacy is mentioned, publicity campaigns are the first thing to spring to mind. The airing of any subject in the media and the press helps to build public awareness around it. Therefore, any advocacy approach concerning children in domestic work should aim for media and press coverage.

However, the first thing to bear in mind is that what makes good journalism - a hot story - may not always be the story you wanted to put across. In the case of child domestics, where there have been cases of abuse and there is need to put pressure to prosecute the offenders, press publicity is very useful.

But sensationalising the situation of child domestics in general may not be fruitful. Many employers, reading stories of child abuse, will have no idea of there being any relationship between such a horror story and their own behaviour to their young domestic workers.

Care should therefore be exercised to try and ensure the maximum input to any media or press story that you have inspired. One method is to hold an event - a conference, for example - which itself can be covered. Another is to bring out a report. You can also approach journalists individually, to see whether they are interested in the subject and encourage them to write about it, perhaps by visiting your programme. You may also need to be selective in your media targets. Choose newspapers, journals and media programmes which do not sensationalise subjects but treat them fairly. Also choose the ones you know are read by your target audience. For example, women's magazines may be a good place to reach employers.

Another way of obtaining media and press coverage is to hold events which have visual appeal or involve celebrities or public figures. The idea of a national 'Day' or a 'Week' has been very effective. ENDA hold an annual May Day rally of child domestics. Marches and rallies, specially where children are involved and take part in speeches or presentations, also tend to attract coverage; this kind of event has been staged effectively by Visayan Forum in the Philippines. At any such event, good visuals are important: posters, slogans, placards, badges and stickers and t-shirts too if possible.

When trying to attract the press and media to cover an event, you need to issue press releases and follow up with phone calls and e-mails to encourage attendance. If you don't have anyone on your team experienced in doing this, it would be a good idea to get some advice or training. When trying to obtain the interest of a particular journalist in covering a story, it is best to make a personal approach and try and cultivate a relationship. The world of press publicity is one where personal contacts make all the difference.

Remember that, in order to have a lasting effect, a message needs to be heard not once but many, many times. Don't barrage the press and put them off, but keep raising the issue in a timely way by using different approaches.

Getting the message out: the role of radio

Radio can be an extremely effective and relatively cheap way of reaching large numbers of people across all levels of society. It is especially useful because it includes people in rural areas and those who cannot read.

Radio can also be an effective means of receiving information. Views from the general public can be collected through phone-ins and interviews. This can also be a good way to stimulate public debate and attract the attention of policy makers.

Haitian NGO Foyers Maurice Sixto has a weekly national radio slot to raise issues relating to the situation of restaveks (child domestic workers) in Haiti.

In Malawi a radio soap opera has been used to get the message across to employers about the need to change their behaviour. The approach is a gradual one and does not denounce the employment of child domestic workers.

In Kenya and the Philippines organisations have successfully created awareness about the situation faced by child domestic workers at local and national level through radio programmes. Children and adult domestic workers were invited to speak about their problems and how society should change.



2. Lobbying and political pressure

The intention of lobbying is to exert pressure on politicians and others in decision-making roles over the development and implementation of public policy. The goal may be to pass a law or a regulation, or simply to obtain a high-level statement about a practice in society that will be reported in the media and set a standard for others in the society to follow. Lobbying can be done quietly, but when done loudly is the most overt form of advocacy - and the form that politicians, bureaucrats and other establishment figures usually dislike. If done with an eye to maximum publicity, it is almost invariably confrontational. It is designed to shame policy-makers and show them up, and to appeal to the public to exert pressure on them. Because of the need to attract attention, lobbyists may deliberately present their case in such a way to whet the public appetite for controversy and scandal - often using case histories. Therefore, it can be hot to handle, and unless handled carefully can be counter-productive. Take advice from experienced lobbyists before going ahead. Lobbying can also be carried out behind the scenes, in which case there is less risk of courting establishment disapproval. The problem with this is that it may be less effective. Without the pressure of media and public outcry, politicians and other decision-makers may not take the necessary action. Where child domestic work overlaps into gross abuse of children's rights - such as abuse, trafficking or sexual exploitation - maximum exposure may be called for. Quieter, more subtle forms of pressurising politicians and officials - meetings, invitations to address workshops or open project facilities - may be better suited to general campaigning around the issue.

Visayan Forum Foundation (VF):

Promoting legislative change:



'Kasambahay,' not 'katulong'

BY BLANCHE S. RIVERA

IF YOU come home really late, you may soon no longer be able to ask the maid to open the gate or serve coffee. Your "kasambahay," not "katulong," may already be working overtime, and unless you're ready to pay extra, you could be sued for breach of contract.

KASAMBAAHAY/ p.6

Article from the Philippine Daily Enquirer 27 April 2000

Visayan Forum in the Philippines has spent some years trying to advocate publicly on behalf of kasambahay - household companions - and gain more status and dignity for a group seen as very lowly in society. Touching people's hearts with testimonies of abuse was their initial approach, to target illegal recruiters and abusive employers. Now they feel the time has come to gain recognition for domestic workers in the law.

The magna carta for domestics they propose will set a minimum wage for all domestic workers above the legal minimum working age of 15, and lay down acceptable conditions of work, as defined by the Department of Labour. VF have pointed out to law-makers and public officials that if the Philippines demands of other countries that they treat Filipinas properly, then surely the same can be sought of employers at home. At the same time as approaching law-makers, they are building a media campaign and developing their skills and experience in working with journalists. Radio, with its wide reach, is their top priority.

Visayan Forum believes that international support is very important in promoting their case. If the government sees that this issue is regarded seriously by international organisations, they are far more inclined to take it seriously themselves.

Each organisation will need to decide on the balance between behind-the-scenes approaches, and lobbying for public exposure. There are ways to undertake effective public lobbying without being unnecessarily threatening - for example, by organising a petition. It is advisable to develop this kind of lobbying carefully, building up contacts among politicians and senior officials who can help move things forward in the policy-making arena. Visayan Forum in the Philippines believes that an organisation should not rush into lobbying for child domestic workers until it is relatively experienced.

We wanted to make a noise

"We wanted to make a big noise on behalf of child domestic workers."

"What exactly will this noise be supposed to achieve?"

"It will stop people abusing their child domestics and exploiting them."

"How?"

"I don't know exactly ..."

"Do you have an actual case of abuse and exploitation?"

"Yes, several."

"Is any of them prepared to lodge a case against their employer or tell their story to the newspapers?"

"I'm not sure."

"Well you better find out because if not your noise will be more like a whisper."



Finding a voice: how to operate as an advocate

An advocate in a court of law usually wears a robe, sometimes even a wig, which gives him or her an air of authority and legitimacy, with the result that their opinion is likely to be taken more seriously. The 'voice' of the advocate in court is fashioned by training, and also by conventions about how things should be presented persuasively and with respect to all the parties in a case. When organisations take up an advocacy role, they also need to think about appearances and what kind of voice they should use to win converts to their cause.

One rule of thumb is that, on the whole, people will be much more easily persuaded to a new point of view by people who are similar in background, education and social status. A person dressed in Quechua costume in Bolivia, for example, may not make an impact when calling on a middle-class housewife. People of different ethnic or social

origin may on the other hand be compelling on a platform or on television. They remain at a comfortable distance, but their intelligence and eloquence may astound those with a preconceived idea about their inferiority.

Louder forms of advocacy are considerably helped by self-confidence and an extrovert personality. However, showy performances should never substitute for well worked-out positions and carefully planned strategies. A television appearance may seem a tremendous coup, but over the longer term, may not have a lasting impact. Quieter advocacy, and a more sober voice, may make more difference in the end.

Try to encourage initiative in the advocacy team, allowing people to attempt the initiatives in which they are likely to do best, and allow some flexibility in voice and appearance to appeal to different audiences.

Above all, regard advocacy with the same degree of rigour as any other kind of activity, to be carried out as professionally. If you are worried about the voice and look you are presenting on behalf of child domestics, seek professional training in public relations or communications skills.

Summary

Different advocacy techniques can be used with different audiences. Some are quiet, such as interpersonal and small group meetings with parents and employers. Others are loud, such as campaigns directed at press and media. Most advocacy strategies will use a combination of quiet and loud techniques. All advocacy is strengthened by the involvement of domestic workers themselves, in sketches, plays, and recounting their personal stories. Confrontational techniques and sensation should usually be avoided.



TWAA, The Working Women's Association, Pakistan.

Chapter Four

Adopting an advocacy strategy

In this chapter, we will examine the adoption of advocacy strategies directed at different key audiences at different levels of society. We will therefore be combining issues already examined - the what, the how, the who - into more specific scenarios. The starting point will be the who - the target audiences. These are the parents of child domestic workers, children themselves, employers, and policy-makers.

When considering the adoption of an advocacy strategy, the orientation of your organisation, its strengths, weaknesses and human and financial resources will carry much weight. Some advocacy approaches are people-intensive, some cost-intensive. For example, the preparation of materials tends to be expensive, whereas undertaking a series of meetings with journalists or policy-makers will require time and effort but little expenditure.

Organisational needs checklist

The following attributes within your organisation should be factored into any advocacy plan:

- @ Have we identified the necessary skills and do they exist within the organisation?
- @ Will we need a special staff member to do advocacy, and if so what professional background should he/she have? Advertising? Journalism? Communications? Adult education?
- @ Advocacy is time-consuming. How will we find the time?
- @ Do we have sufficient financial resources for a special advocacy effort? Would it be better to maximise advocacy opportunities arising out of our services programme?
- @ Are staff who are not familiar with advocacy willing to be trained or oriented to take part? Advocacy is everyone's responsibility!
- @ Do we have the means for monitoring and evaluating our advocacy work?

Skills and expertise are important, and you may need to invest time and effort in training before becoming too ambitious. It is best to build up the organisation's expertise and reputation before setting your sights on influencing senior policy-making figures. Where publicity is concerned, it may similarly be better to start locally with materials addressed to employers and local leaders, and later approach national television or radio programmes.



I want to run a national campaign

"I want to run a national campaign, with television spots and messages on hoardings all over the city!"

"That's going to cost a fortune."

"But it's vital to get the message across."

"How do you know what message will work unless you've run something smaller on a neighbourhood scale first?"

"That would be much cheaper ..."

"And you can measure the results."

"Advocacy is not easy."

"You must learn to walk before you can run."



Specific strategies for key audiences

It is not possible to prescribe fool-proof strategies which would be appropriate in every setting for the four key audiences of advocacy surrounding child domestic work:

the parents of child domestic workers; children themselves; employers; and policy-makers.

The selection of the audience depends on what **objective** is being sought. In every case, it will be necessary to have certain information available about the audience, so as to work out how to reach them both physically and attitudinally. Then, **messages** will be developed to be used with the audience to persuade them to change their thinking or behaviour in such a way as to help realise the objective.

From We Want our Right to Education booklet, Kuleana centre for children's rights, Tanzania



The messenger and the message

Choosing the right message for your target audience is fundamental to successfully changing attitudes. However, selecting the right messenger is also crucial, and the method by which the information is passed on.

Think about how your messenger (this could be your own organisation, or another person or group that you are using to get the message across) is seen by others - particularly by your target audience - since this will affect the credibility of the message you are trying to deliver. Your message might not be trusted or taken seriously if your messenger is not respected. Put yourself in the mind of your target audience and try to imagine how they would react to your planned message and messenger.

Whatever messages you are trying to put across to your audience, they should be **simple**, they should be **easily understood**, they should be **few**, they should be **relevant**, and they should be **persuasive**. This applies whatever vehicle or approach is selected.

In enlisting popular support for legislative reform to improve the working conditions of 15 year olds and over, Visayan Forum Foundation (VF) sought to downplay the notion that all employers were bad. Since young domestic workers are so common in the Philippines it was thought likely that encouraging such a message would merely provoke a public backlash. Instead, VF promoted the message that by improving the employer-employee relationship in this way, many of the problems faced both by employees and employers could be avoided and reduced.

In Bolivia, an association of domestic workers found that using university 'intellectuals' to act as go-betweens with employers of child domestic workers was far more successful than using indigenous women, as employers perceived the university graduates to be of higher status and were therefore more prepared to listen to what they had to say.

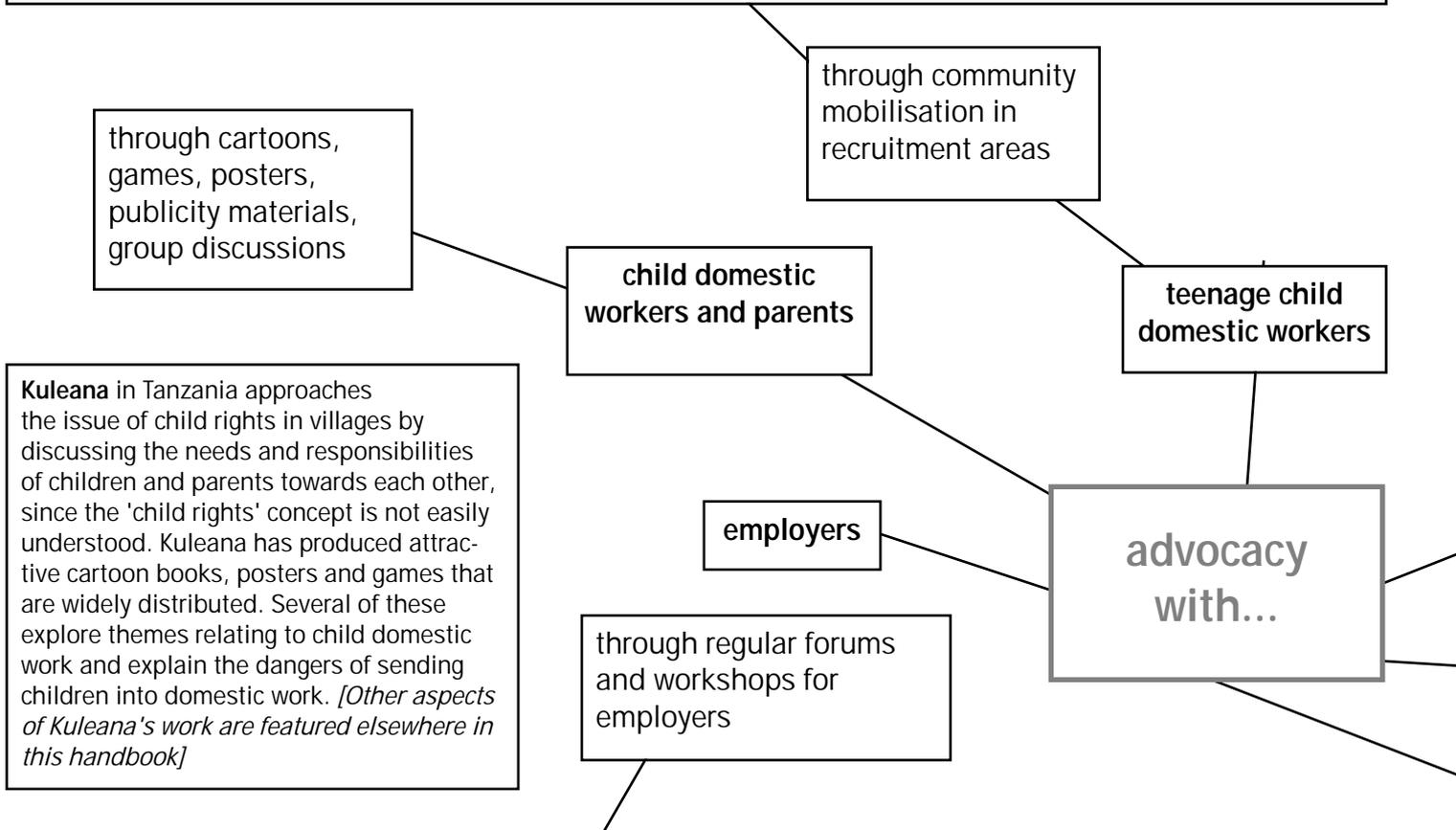
The vehicles for conveying the messages - the advocacy approaches - are presented below in the form of checklists. These include both **direct approaches and indirect approaches**. Some indirect approaches for one audience may also be suitable for another, as long as messages are adapted to cover both targets. The process of deciding what approaches to adopt will need to be informed by the factors which would influence the outcome of activity, either positively or negatively. Checklists of success factors and obstacles are therefore also provided.

As part of a brain-storming or planning process, you may want to conduct an exercise to reach organisational consensus on the approaches. You could first give each suggested approach marks out of 10; and then deduct or add marks according to how much the effectiveness of the approach would be influenced by the various success factors and obstacles.

In each case, a case example of an organisation's approach to the audience in question has been provided.



Initially, the focus of the **Conservation, Hotels, Domestic and Allied Workers Union of Tanzania (CHODAWU)** was awareness raising in recruitment areas. This led to CHODAWU staff and local communities jointly defining the problem and identifying poverty as the main cause for the recruitment of girls for domestic service. A key element was to form and develop Child Labour Committees (CLCs) under the existing village government system. The CLCs, which are locally managed from within the communities, are responsible for local mobilisation of resources to prevent recruitment of child domestic workers and to withdraw children who have already entered domestic service. CHODAWU has sought the active involvement of district level government officials and this has enabled these officials to be sensitised to the issue and to lobby for additional local resources. In addition to supporting income generating activities and helping families to repatriate CDWs, the CLCs monitor developments in the villages. This includes keeping a register of children withdrawn and repatriated from child domestic work. Along with the monitoring the CLCs continue to disseminate information and raise awareness on child labour in the communities, often using Kuleana's cartoon materials (*see other example*).



Kuleana in Tanzania approaches the issue of child rights in villages by discussing the needs and responsibilities of children and parents towards each other, since the 'child rights' concept is not easily understood. Kuleana has produced attractive cartoon books, posters and games that are widely distributed. Several of these explore themes relating to child domestic work and explain the dangers of sending children into domestic work. *[Other aspects of Kuleana's work are featured elsewhere in this handbook]*



Shoishab motivates employers to get actively involved in the decision-making process of working with CDWs. It organises workshops in order to create trust in the local communities where it is working to garner support. It also hosts regular discussion meetings to ensure employers remain committed to the work. An annual meeting is held with employers from different parts of Dhaka city participating. Shoishab also publishes newsletters for employers, and they are the targets of poster campaigns on community noticeboards bearing digestible messages such as "Whoever lives in my house is my responsibility" and "I am educated, so I understand the importance of education". Shoishab's experience of these activities is that employers have become more open to letting their child domestic workers make use of the services which Shoishab provides. There has also been a perceptible change in the attitudes of employers towards CDWs in their households - with employers gradually developing a sense of accountability and commitment to children 'in their care'. *[Other aspects of Shoishab's work are featured elsewhere in this handbook]*

From a Shoishab poster aimed at employers: 'I am educated so I understand the importance of education'.



Examples of effective local level advocacy

Cover: Panchita, Grupo de Trabajo Redes, Lima, Peru



In 1995 **Asociación Grupo de Trabajo Redes** in Peru began to work with domestic workers, particularly with young domestic workers in Lima. In 1998 the group published a booklet about 'Panchita', a fictional young domestic worker who overcomes various difficulties. It was distributed mainly by word of mouth to CDWs around the city. The booklet contains details of how to contact the Group and its services. Records are kept on the more than 370 teenage children that have made contact with the Group, mainly as a result of reading Panchita's story and asking "where is Panchita's House?". Casa de Panchita (Panchita's House) evolved from this and began by providing assistance, information and guidance on topics such as legal rights, sexuality and family planning. Responding to their requests, the Group organised new activities such as a folk-dancing workshop and Sunday lunch - bought and prepared by the girls themselves. All of these changes have contributed to more discussion of labour rights and other important issues directly related to their work.

through "Panchita's story" and drop-in centre

parents and local communities

In Mumbai (India) the **National Domestic Workers Movement** teamed up with the College of Social Work to begin activities in schools under the banner "In my home everyone is literate". This aimed to reach out to domestic workers through the children of their employers. After being made aware of the reality of the situation in their houses, the children are invited to commit themselves to teach their domestic worker basic literacy skills during the school year. Their progress is then followed up by a student from the College of Social Work. By this method school children pass messages about the treatment of domestic workers through to their parents, the employers. *[Other aspects of NDWM's work are featured elsewhere in this handbook]*

children of employers

through schools

government employees

through lobbying and campaigning, leading to reform of employment guidelines



As a result of advocacy by the **South Asian Coalition on Child Servitude (SACCS)** in 1997, India's National Human Rights Commission recommended that the federal and state governments should prohibit their employees from employing children below the age of 14 years as domestic servants. SACCS and other organisations kept up the pressure on the Indian Government through face to face meetings, demonstrations, leaflets and by encouraging the media to report cases of abuse against child domestic workers. In October 1999, the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules were amended by inserting a provision that "No government servant shall employ to work any child below the age of 14 years". A roundtable conference on child domestic labour was organised by SACCS in November 1999 to publicise the change in the employment rules.



1. Strategies for advocacy with parents of child domestic workers

Objectives - what are they?

The parents of actual or potential child domestic workers are an important target in the context of prevention, and of reintegration of children removed from the workplace.

Where are they to be found?

In many countries, child domestic workers tend to come from certain communities or parts of the country. This may be because the area is poor and families in difficulty, and sending children - especially girls - out to work elsewhere as a solution has become an established, culturally accepted response. This makes possible the identification of 'sending communities'.

In many cases the sending communities are far from the child domestics themselves, who visit home only very rarely. If the girls (or boys) are illiterate, which is likely to be the case in many environments, there is no possibility of contact with home. Therefore, the sending families are unaware of the working situation to which they have banished their children. Recruiters and traffickers may paint a glowing picture of their children's prospects. Parents have no means of knowing what is really in store for them, especially if they are to be taken to another country or a place where few members of the sending community live.

Key information:

- @ Knowledge of sending communities and their attitudes;
- @ Understanding of their motivation;
- @ Knowledge of recruitment practices, including trafficking where it occurs;
- @ Available education services.

Possible messages

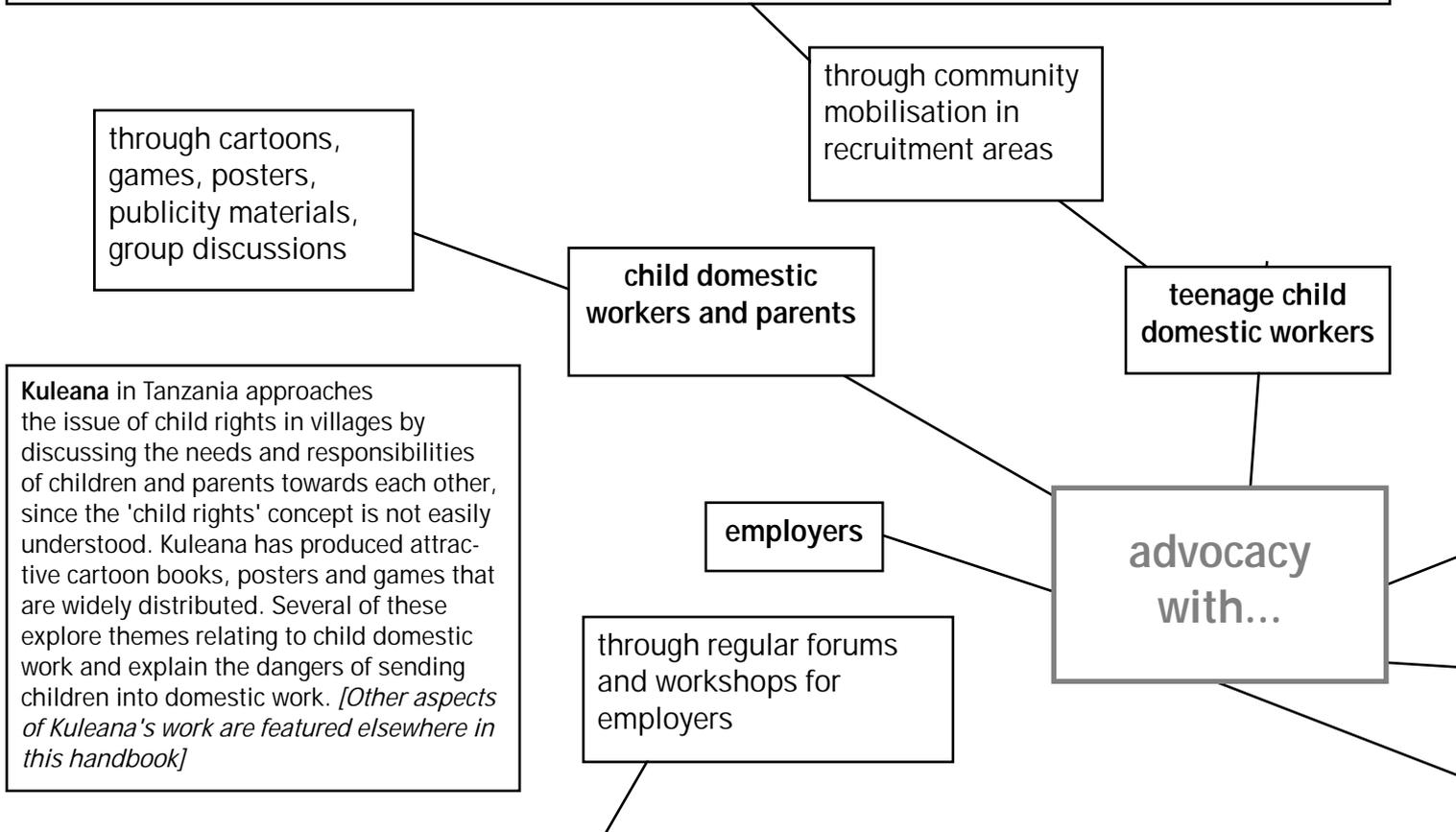
In the case of sending communities, here are some possibilities:

- @ It is important to keep girls in school;
- @ If you give responsibility for your daughter to a stranger, she may be very badly treated;
- @ Life in town is often lonely, and no-one looks after young people;
- @ Girls and boys who work as domestic servants far from home often have a very bad time and are terribly exploited;
- @ If your girl goes away to town, she may be vulnerable to sexual exploitation;
- @ Girls with an education do much better in life than those without;
- @ Child domestics often don't get paid.

Examine these messages and consider which you think correspond to the criteria listed above. Perhaps you can think of others.



Initially, the focus of the **Conservation, Hotels, Domestic and Allied Workers Union of Tanzania (CHODAWU)** was awareness raising in recruitment areas. This led to CHODAWU staff and local communities jointly defining the problem and identifying poverty as the main cause for the recruitment of girls for domestic service. A key element was to form and develop Child Labour Committees (CLCs) under the existing village government system. The CLCs, which are locally managed from within the communities, are responsible for local mobilisation of resources to prevent recruitment of child domestic workers and to withdraw children who have already entered domestic service. CHODAWU has sought the active involvement of district level government officials and this has enabled these officials to be sensitised to the issue and to lobby for additional local resources. In addition to supporting income generating activities and helping families to repatriate CDWs, the CLCs monitor developments in the villages. This includes keeping a register of children withdrawn and repatriated from child domestic work. Along with the monitoring the CLCs continue to disseminate information and raise awareness on child labour in the communities, often using Kuleana's cartoon materials (*see other example*).



Kuleana in Tanzania approaches the issue of child rights in villages by discussing the needs and responsibilities of children and parents towards each other, since the 'child rights' concept is not easily understood. Kuleana has produced attractive cartoon books, posters and games that are widely distributed. Several of these explore themes relating to child domestic work and explain the dangers of sending children into domestic work. *[Other aspects of Kuleana's work are featured elsewhere in this handbook]*



Shoishab motivates employers to get actively involved in the decision-making process of working with CDWs. It organises workshops in order to create trust in the local communities where it is working to garner support. It also hosts regular discussion meetings to ensure employers remain committed to the work. An annual meeting is held with employers from different parts of Dhaka city participating. Shoishab also publishes newsletters for employers, and they are the targets of poster campaigns on community noticeboards bearing digestible messages such as "Whoever lives in my house is my responsibility" and "I am educated, so I understand the importance of education". Shoishab's experience of these activities is that employers have become more open to letting their child domestic workers make use of the services which Shoishab provides. There has also been a perceptible change in the attitudes of employers towards CDWs in their households - with employers gradually developing a sense of accountability and commitment to children 'in their care'. *[Other aspects of Shoishab's work are featured elsewhere in this handbook]*

From a Shoishab poster aimed at employers: 'I am educated so I understand the importance of education'.



- @ Entrenched traditions and cultural attitudes;
- @ Lack of NGO capacity and resources;
- @ Lack of negotiation and presentation skills;
- @ Lack of good information and analysis;
- @ Lack of political interest at local level;
- @ Lack of police or emigration action against traffickers.

African Network for the Prevention and Protection of Children from Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN), Kenya



In the mid-1980s, a Child Labour and Health Survey in four districts of Kenya revealed that a large number of working children suffered hardship as child domestics. They tended to emigrate to town from particular areas and sought work with salaried employees in urban jobs, many of them teachers. ANPPCAN set out to reduce the numbers of working children. Their first step was to initiate a programme to make parents aware of what happened to children who went off to work as a domestic far away in town.

Their tool was drama, in primary schools. Children and teachers composed their own plays and presented them to audiences of parents, teachers, local leaders, and other children. It was clear that the idea that their working children might endure such hardships had never occurred to many parents before.



From ANPPCAN poster "Help Stop Child Abuse Now: by calling any of our crisis desks..."

The discussions provoked by these performances allowed ANPPCAN to gauge how the practice was viewed by the community. They compiled reports in each of the four districts, and these were discussed by local officials. At these workshops, more far-reaching social and economic problems emerged, as did the officials' lack of capacity to deal effectively with them. The result was the establishment of Child Labour Teams, with members from many different ministries.

To tackle the poverty which led to many parents removing their girls (and boys) from school, income-generating projects were set up at the schools. These are for food and livestock production using

modern methods. Income is used to support individual children with exam fees, textbooks and stationery. Some children from extremely poor families have been exempted from tuition fees. In this way children who would otherwise go out to work are prevented from leaving.

A very positive gain is that the district education offices have become much more concerned with the retention of children in school. They encourage teachers to keep attendance records and not to send children home if their school levies are overdue. At the same time, the Child Labour Committees are encouraging them to identify children from homes where parents are struggling and link these families to income-generating activities.



2. Strategies for advocacy with child domestic workers and children generally

Objectives: Children and young people have an important role to play in changing social attitudes. Where they are already employed as domestic workers, their involvement in a social or educational programme may give them confidence and enable them to negotiate improved working conditions. Where they are not yet employed, but might be taken out of

school to be sent out to work, there is an opportunity to influence them, and through them their parents, to prevent this occurring. School-children who come from households where child domestics are employed can be made aware of the discrimination they suffer, and become change agents for behaviour in their own households. Thus children have a role to play in achieving many different objectives: prevention, improvement of conditions and reintegration.

Involving children in advocacy

Children - both those working as domestics and those who come into contact with them - are a key target audience for advocacy. In many instances, advocacy messages for this audience will be carried by children themselves. The key ethical rule when involving children in advocacy is **"Do no harm"**. This means:

- @ Protect children from risks, such as dismissal or punishment;
- @ Ask children's permission to use their stories and pictures (not just the permission of adults, even if they are parents);
- @ Respect children's decisions if they refuse to be interviewed or photographed;
- @ Do not use negative, degrading or stigmatising images of children;
- @ Do not exaggerate, or use unnecessarily emotional language;
- @ Do not make promises to children that you cannot keep;
- @ Do not raise expectations you cannot fulfil;
- @ Try to ensure that children fully understand the nature of their participation.

Where are they to be found? The difficulty of reaching child domestics because of their inaccessibility in people's homes has been a constant refrain throughout this handbook. However, it should not be seen as insuperable. It may be possible to reach them by identifying the places where they go in the course of their duties, or on their day off. These may include markets, milk or water collection points, parks, places of religious worship,

bailaderos (dance halls), bakeries, bus or railway stations and health centres (when accompanying employers and their children).

However, many child domestics rarely leave the house at all, and in order to have any meaningful access to them it may first be necessary to set up some kind of practical programme and enrol them - with permission from their employers. Shoishab in Bangladesh set up a non-formal educational programme and enrolled child domestics as their first action. However, Shoishab also discovered that this sometimes led to a child running away



from an abusive household, so they also had to offer temporary care leading to rehabilitation/reintegration. Child domestics may also be reachable via recruiters or older domestic workers in the same neighbourhood or from the same part of the country, especially where someone of this kind acts as a surrogate guardian for the child which he/she is away from home.

Other children and young people, either vulnerable to recruitment or who come from households with domestic servants, can be reached in school. Schools are therefore an important context for advocacy.

Key information:

- @ Identification of places where child domestics can be reached;
- @ Knowledge of sending communities, existing attitudes and recruitment practices;
- @ Knowledge of typical conditions of work.

Possible messages:

- @ All children have the same rights, including child domestics;
- @ Children working in the households of others should not be treated as inferior beings;
- @ All children should go to school, and have time off for play;
- @ Children can help protect other children's rights;

@ No child should work around the clock for other people;

@ No child domestic should be verbally or physically abused. Children working in the households of others should not be treated as inferior beings;

@ All children should go to school, and have time off for play;

How to influence them: Direct approaches

Note that direct approaches to child domestics themselves require that programmes of some kind be underway.

- @ Establish membership organisations for young domestics; assist them in self-organisation and awareness of their rights;
- @ Bring them into contact with services such as schools, health care, counselling;
- @ Set up hotlines;
- @ Involve them in recreational activity, theatre, sports and self-expression;
- @ Provide skills training and self-improvement opportunities;
- @ Work with schools to run clubs, classes, rights awareness programmes or writing/art competitions about the issue;



@ Campaign for schoolchildren to promote literacy at home by teaching child domestics how to read and write themselves;

@ Work with Domestic Workers' Unions (Latin America).

How to influence them: Indirect approaches

@ Campaign for universal primary education and retention of girls in school;

@ Campaign for gender equality for girls and boys;

@ Promote child rights generally;

@ Work with religious leaders, community organisers, village leaders;

@ Promote programmes for youth;

@ Use existing publicity platforms, such as Universal Children's Day;

@ Use media: children's programmes or publications.

Success factors:

@ Empowering child domestics and raising their self-esteem takes time and sustained contact;

@ Child domestics able to speak out on their own behalf to strengthen advocacy of all kinds;

@ Early enlistment of influential allies (leaders, teachers, priests, media, local NGOs etc.);

@ The existence of local government services to protect child workers.

Obstacles:

@ Inaccessibility of child domestic workers;

@ Need to protect children who speak up from possible retribution by employers;

@ Entrenched attitudes towards the practice among authority figures;

@ Need to avoid children being stigmatised by unwelcome types of publicity, e.g. in a case of abuse;

@ Need to engage children in such a way as to avoid raising their expectations unrealistically;

@ Low quality of schooling and lack of motivation for education;

@ Children's illegal status, where they have been recruited from another country.



ESAM, Benin

SUMAPI, Philippines

SUMAPI is the name of the association of young househelpers which grew out of the 'Kasambahay Programme' - programme for child domestic workers - of the Visayan Forum in Manila. Joining the association gives girls who are otherwise isolated and powerless in the face of their employers' behaviour a link with others like themselves.

Members enjoy a social life together on their days off, and they support each other to improve their working situation. They hold rallies, often gaining media attention. They also take part in public debates about child labour, making heard the voice of an otherwise silent and invisible group of workers.

SUMAPI officers - all in their teens - visit Manila's Luneta Park on Sundays where many domestic workers go for their day off. Girls such as Chedita Marayag, who first started working at the age of nine, can identify a fellow domestic worker instantly. She makes an informal introduction of herself and SUMAPI, and within a few minutes can gain the trust of a girl whose experiences have made her naturally wary of strangers.

New recruits are followed up by social workers from Visayan Forum, to introduce the services of the Kasambahay Programme: hotline, legal support, intervention with the employer if necessary, refuge from abusive employers, educational programmes, counselling, sports and recreation. The association now has over 5,000 members altogether, with smaller chapters based on parks, churches and schools in the other three cities where Visayan Forum is active: Batangas, Bacolod and Davao.

Team leaders are trained to become effective service providers, and builders and advocates for their groups. A lot of girls are so unaware of their rights when they join that they cannot even recognise abuse when they receive it. They are also very easily demotivated: tiredness and unhappiness may discourage them from attending night school classes. Team leaders can motivate these girls and transform their spirit and prospects of self-betterment.



Poster advertising a rally for domestic workers, Manila, Philippines



Visayan Forum Foundation, Inc.



3. Strategies for advocacy with employers

Objectives: Changing the attitudes of employers towards the employment of children as domestics and their treatment in the household is a key advocacy target. This goal is contained within a larger goal of changing the entire attitude of society, where the practice is socially endorsed. In terms of direct impact on child domestics, changing employers' attitudes and practices will mainly affect their conditions of work, and their personal status and self-esteem.

Where are they to be found?

Employers can be reached in their households, where the practice is intensive and door-to-door contact in, for example, a housing estate or apartment block will be productive. They can be reached via child domestics already enrolled in a service or programme, and through their own children where these are reached at school or in other settings. In some settings they may be reachable via health centres and other basic services programmes. Where child domestics are referred to an employer by an older domestic worker or 'guardian' of a child, these can be a conduit to employer households. Employers of child domestics are often working women, and it might be possible to reach these women through their own places of work. They can also be reached indirectly, through places of worship, community associations, and via the media.

Key information:

- @ Identification of households or neighbourhoods where child domestics are employed;

- @ Existing attitudes and behaviours of employers;
- @ Recruitment procedures;
- @ Existing laws concerning abusive or violent treatment of minors;
- @ Existing laws concerning adult domestic work.

Possible messages:

- @ Children working in other people's houses have rights to childhood and full childhood development;
- @ No child under 14 should be employed in another person's house as a domestic worker;
- @ Children and young people working in other people's households should be allowed time off to go to school and enjoy recreation;
- @ No child worker should be on duty round the clock;
- @ Child domestics should not be treated as inferior beings by employer families;
- @ "I am responsible for everyone in my household"; "I am educated so I understand the importance of education".

How to influence them:

Direct approaches

- @ Arrange meetings with employers of a non-threatening or antagonistic kind;
- @ Initiate a service - such as a learning centre - and invite employers to co-operate.



How to influence them: Indirect approaches

- @ Stories and opinion pieces in newspapers, magazines and in the media;
- @ Bring cases of abuse into court;
- @ Obtain endorsement for better treatment for domestic workers and removal of under-age workers from the workplace by politicians and other leading figures;
- @ Campaign for government and other organisations to oppose employment of child domestics by their staff, and publicly announce this decision;
- @ Campaign for a 'code of practice' concerning child domestics, and try to obtain government backing;
- @ Campaign for registration of all under 18s living in other people's houses and working as domestics;

- @ Involve research institutes, health professionals and leading bodies in programmes so that they become supportive.

Success factors:

- @ Highlight the benefits to employers of educational programmes for child domestic workers;
- @ Approach employers sensitively, develop their goodwill;
- @ Use media to break the myths and silence surrounding the practice;
- @ Work with NGOs and others to develop effective strategies.

Obstacles:

- @ Lack of awareness of child rights;
- @ Inertia and lack of priority among politicians and decision-makers;
- @ Lack of understanding among many employers, and resistance to change.

Shoishab, Bangladesh

Shoishab has been conducting programmes for child domestic workers in Dhaka, Bangladesh for many years, and has undertaken a number of advocacy initiatives to alter social attitudes towards them. In the early stages, educational schemes to which they could be released for an hour or two every day, were the main activity. This brought Shoishab officers into contact with employers, who had to be persuaded to let their domestics attend.

To begin with, some employers shut their doors in Shoishab's face. But over time, the employers have become key actors in the programme. Regular discussion meetings are held with employers in their communities, and once a year a central workshop is conducted with employers from different parts of Dhaka Metropolitan Area.

continued over



(cont)

Newsletters have been published for both employers and children.

The immediate reason for involving the employers is help in making services effective. Employers may be motivated by the idea that their domestics will be better trained, more knowledgeable and useful. But the underlying motivation is to seek a change in employer attitudes, from a role which is primarily that of oppressor to one that is primarily that of benefactor.

Shoishab reports success in both areas. Over time, 5,000 employers have become involved with the programme. There is more open-mindedness among employers approached for the first time, and more willingness to allow their young domestics to take part in the services and facilities offered by Shoishab. In some cases, they even begin to run the services themselves, meeting the educational and recreational expenses of their child domestic workers.

Trained workers have been a crucial factor in motivating employers. They have worked through every sort of community institution, including community centres, clubs, NGOs, local leaders and welfare associations. Their discussion groups and workshops have enabled links to be forged between employers, NGOs and departments of government. But Shoishab has not ignored indirect advocacy through the media and more public routes as an important reinforcement.

Shoishab believes that involving employers is essential to improving the situation of child domestic workers. Persuasion, social pressure and setting of examples have to be the main advocacy techniques. The objective is to make employers take moral and financial responsibility for the children they employ, respecting a code of behaviour towards them which, even if it cannot be legally enforced, can be upheld through peer pressure.



Poster reads: "I go to bed last, I go to sleep last, I start work first and finish work last - please tell me who I am? I am a child domestic worker."

4. Strategies for advocacy with policy-makers

Objectives: Although laws exist concerning child labour in many countries, they are not often applied, and they are extremely difficult to implement with respect to child domestic workers because of the workers' invisibility and the fact that each child works separately, in a private household. However, it is still very worthwhile to engage the attention of policy-makers in the problem. Where policies, laws and regulations exist, and where cases of abuse have been brought into court and given publicity, this has an important effect on social attitudes. Over time, it may be possible to obtain from the Ministry of Labour, and from trades unions, the passage of regulations and their enforcement in cases of trafficking and gross abuse, and endorsement for codes of conduct regarding pay and other terms and conditions of employment.

Where are they to be found?

Policy-makers are mainly to be found in the ranks of politicians and the bureaucracy, including both national and local levels.

Key information:

- @ Existing laws concerning child labour, child rights and child protection;
- @ Knowledge of the mechanisms of government so as to know where pressure is most usefully and appropriately to be applied.

Possible messages:

- @ The employment of children under age 14 as domestic workers should be publicly condemned;
- @ A code of conduct regarding the employment of domestic workers should be developed;
- @ Government employees should be heavily discouraged from employing under-age domestic workers.

How to influence them:

Direct approaches

- @ Seek individual meetings with appropriate officials;
- @ Invite officials to workshops and public rallies;
- @ Target politicians and officials with information;
- @ Seek endorsement from politicians and officials for petitions.

How to influence them:

Indirect approaches

- @ Promote enforcement of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and ILO Convention 182;
- @ Hold rallies and events, focusing on child rights abuses;
- @ Publish findings of studies and call for public responsibility;
- @ Media stories and opinion pieces;
- @ Ensure mention of child domestics in any national debate about child labour.

Success factors:

- @ Solid, well-researched information;
- @ Case studies to personalise the issue and attract attention;
- @ Workable proposals for action;
- @ Programmes in place for education and other services;
- @ Good networks and alliances with NGOs and partners.

Obstacles:

- @ Lack of political will, inertia;
- @ Need time to develop sufficient organisational weight concerning the practice to be able to influence policy-makers;
- @ Special problems where children are trafficked or illegally recruited.



Kuleana, Tanzania

Kuleana was originally set up as a street children's organisation, but like many similar NGOs has extended its brief to promote children's rights generally. Kuleana works directly with children to enable them to have a voice and participate meaningfully in society, and acts as the leading organisational advocate in Tanzania on behalf of children's rights, promoting policy change and acting as a catalyst, trainer and resource for community action.

Housegirls, or children in domestic employment, are a special Kuleana concern. The first step was to undertake research in a main Tanzanian city, and on the basis of this to start raising public awareness that this category of child workers was as much in need of attention as those working on agricultural plantations and in industry. Since 1998, Kuleana has taken its advocacy work to government departments, NGOs, trade unions, and other major institutions. Support has come from the media in the form of essay competitions, radio dramas and dialogues on child domestics' predicaments.

A Code of Conduct concerning the employment of child domestic workers has been approved by the Ministry of Labour and Youth Development, reiterating the importance of education to the child. Among other provisions, the Code invites employers to ensure that they employ no child under the age of 14; that they make sure that children in their care do not work in school hours, but attend school; that they give one day off a week and do not allow more than a certain number of working hours a week, that the children are paid the minimum wage, that their living conditions are adequate, and that they are not subject to any form of abuse, neglect or exploitation.

The Ministry of Labour is intending to explore ways of implementing this Code. But its main importance may lie less in its enforcement - which is bound to be difficult - than in the clear message it sends to society as a whole about the rights to a proper childhood of young domestics and the obligation for children under primary completion age to remain in school. One result of Kuleana's efforts is that community groups have spontaneously sprung up advocating for the rights of child domestics and acting as a watchdog for all children whose working life forces them to leave home.



kuleana



Checklist for preparing an advocacy plan

1. Identify overall objective and subsidiary objectives
2. Prioritise objectives for short-, medium- and long-term; set time frames
3. Work out how advocacy interacts with other programme activities
4. Identify target audiences for advocacy
5. Set measurable goals, and work out how to monitor progress
6. Ensure you have adequate information on which to proceed
7. Select advocacy strategies, combining silent and loud techniques, direct and indirect approaches, within available skills and resources
8. Approach partners to build an alliance and strengthen advocacy base
9. Develop advocacy messages and begin preparation of materials
10. Finalise advocacy plan, including time-bound targets, with partners; build in review and revision process based on results.

Summary

Choosing strategies for advocacy depends on fitting together the what, the how, and the who. A number of factors have to be taken into account, including organisational capacities and the chances of success or failure. The starting point for the scenarios offered is the who - the four key audiences: the parents of child domestic workers; children themselves; employers; and policy-makers.



Chapter Five

The international dimension of advocacy

In the last decade, the issue of child domestic work has gradually become more visible on the international platforms where child labour issues are discussed. In 1990, it had barely been noticed. Now, there is a far higher level of awareness, mainly due to the pioneering work of some country-based NGOs and the growing number of studies undertaken by them or by researchers associated with them.



Some international organisations have played an important role in fostering these organisations and assisting their research, their development of services for child domestics, and their advocacy. They have also given an international profile to the issue, through publications, lobbying, helping the development of networks and bringing organisations active on the ground together to share experiences and develop a common agenda.

The key international organisations involved with the issue are Anti-Slavery, ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), UNICEF, and Save the Children alliance members, especially Save the Children UK (SC UK). Each of these organisations has its own structure and support mechanisms; they also differ substantially in size. UNICEF, which is much the largest, mostly supports programme and advocacy action through its individual Country Offices, and via its network of child protection advisors at regional level. SC UK's main initiative has been at the regional level in Latin America and in certain Latin American countries, as well as a fledgling programme in Morocco, North Africa.

ILO/IPEC can be seen as the most important international actor in terms of trying to develop approaches for addressing child domestic work and for provision of programme funds. Anti-Slavery has been a catalyst, providing support for NGO-based research, and undertaking other strategic actions with a growing network of concerned organisations.

International rights and labour conventions

One of the most important roles of the international organisations is to promote the elaboration, endorsement and practical implementation of norms relating to childhood and child labour. As already set out [see Chapter one], the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) provides a set of benchmark standards relating to childhood, many of which are actually or potentially breached for children employed as domestics. The two key ILO conventions are the Convention on the Minimum Age of Employment (No. 138), and a more recent Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (No. 182) [see next page].

ILO Convention 182

In response to the need to combat the continuing - and in some places growing - phenomenon of child labour, the International Labour Conference adopted a new convention in 1999 in an attempt to outlaw its most damaging forms. Ratifying states pledge immediate and effective action to prohibit and eliminate the worst forms of labour for anyone under age 18 (the definition of 'child' corresponding to that in the CRC). The situations of girls and of those in hidden work situations are expected to receive special attention.

The 'worst form' categories are defined as follows:

- @ All forms of slave labour, including where the child has been trafficked, sold, forced to work to pay off family debt, or is forcibly recruited for use in armed conflict.
- @ The exploitation of children for commercial sex or for pornography.
- @ The exploitation of a child for illicit purposes, especially production and trafficking of drugs.
- @ Work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm a child's health, safety or morals ('hazardous work').

Article 6 of the convention also commits governments to consider the views of 'concerned groups' - including children and young people with experience of the worst forms of child labour, their families and other groups such as NGOs.

Domestic employment is not specified in Convention 182 as a 'worst form' of child labour per se. However, many children who work as domestics fall into one or other of the specified forms, either because of their extreme youth, or because of the way in which they have been recruited or because of treatment they endure. Significantly, there is also a 'Recommendation' (No. 190) which accompanies the convention. It contains explanatory notes about Convention 182 and guidelines for its implementation. It specifies that 'hazardous work' should be understood to include *"work in particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer."* This is widely interpreted to refer to child domestic workers, amongst others.

Many organisations, such as Child Workers In Nepal (CWIN), believe that the conditions of child domestic workers are universally so dreadful in Nepal that child domestic work in this setting can be described as a 'worst form' of child labour. For organisations working in similar settings, this new ILO convention can be an important advocacy tool. Ratification and implementation of the convention could be a medium or long-term goal.

These conventions have an important role to play in relation to advocacy concerning child protection. In the case of the CRC, almost every country in the world has ratified this international treaty, and can therefore be called to account to deliver on binding commitments. In the case of ILO conventions, all governments which are members of the ILO must respect the principles of Convention 138 and Convention 182 even if they have not ratified those conventions. Those standards may be seen as objectives, for example, the removal of all children under age 14 from the workplace. But they are also tools to hold government to account.

However, it should be noted that in the case of child domestic work, as opposed to child labour generally, campaigning for the acceptance of ILO conventions is likely to have an indirect effect. This is because there is still little appreciation in many societies that child domestic workers are truly 'workers' and not simply children undergoing an alternative form of upbringing.

Those in the society with an existing appreciation of child rights may be influenced by international condemnation of 'worst' forms of child labour, but at the level of parents, employers and community leaders - those who have most influence over the practice - the existence of such a convention is not going to be very meaningful. Familiarising such people with, and getting them to understand, the concepts of 'childhood' and 'child rights' should be done with reference to their own existing beliefs and value systems, not imposed as strange ideas from another world.



Using the CRC and ILO conventions as advocacy tools

The international conventions can be important tools of advocacy with governments, legislators, and other decision-makers.

The CRC:

The implementation process of the CRC has brought international, regional and national focus onto children's issues and has created broad coalitions of groups that share related child rights and welfare aims. The Committee on the Rights of the Child requires each ratifying State to report on their progress in implementing the CRC.

Government representatives are then questioned on aspects of the report, after which the Committee publishes its observations and recommendations for improvement.

Under the terms of the CRC local organisations are entitled to present 'alternative' reports about the child rights situation in their country. These are often used by the Committee as the basis for their questioning of governments, and numerous questions about the situation of child domestic workers have been put in this way.

In addition, the Committee has made a number of significant observations about child domestic workers, in most cases highlighting national legal reform as the primary need. Public statements from respected international bodies such as the Committee on the Rights of the Child can be a useful addition to a national or regional level advocacy strategy.

ILO conventions:

Although the ILO does not officially consult with civil society organisations except trade unions and employer organisations, it has a number of mechanisms where concerns about the situation of child domestic workers and other child labour issues can be expressed and governments can be held to account.

Governments must make periodic reports to the ILO on how they have applied the ILO conventions they have ratified. These reports are then examined by the ILO's Committee of Experts who prepare and publish a formal report containing their own conclusions. In 1993, the ILO's Committee of Experts on the Application of the Conventions and Recommendations drew attention to the situation of restaveks (child domestics) in Haiti. They noted the child's permanent separation from home and family, the threat of physical and sexual abuse, the exploitative conditions, and the humiliation the restavek was forced to endure.

As a condition of membership ILO member states must commit themselves to respect for four fundamental principles, including the effective elimination of child labour. This means that even if a member state has not ratified Conventions 182 (on the worst forms of child labour) and 138 (on the minimum age for admission to employment), the ILO will ask for a report detailing any changes in its law and practice in that area. Every four years, from 2002, the ILO will publish a major report covering the progress made by states on child labour.

The most effective way for NGOs and others to get their voices heard through these mechanisms is through collaboration with workers' or employers' organisations and, if successful, can prove useful ways of bringing pressure to bear by exposing governments to international scrutiny.

What kind of support can international organisations offer?

The principle role of international organisations vis-a-vis local and national NGOs is to provide support, in the form either of financial resources or of capacity building and technical advice. It is very important that external organisations do not appear to dictate the agenda on an issue such as child domestic work because of the strong belief in some countries that this practice is an acceptable, even desirable, part of upbringing and a part of a long cultural tradition. The imposition of different values from elsewhere will not be acceptable; only those within the society are likely to persuade their peers that their attitudes and behaviour need to change.

However, international organisations can be helpful allies not only because they have money and resources. Their visible presence as partners in a network may confer prestige and help give endorsement to advocacy activities. They may also be able to open doors to influential figures, key government personnel, and alternative sources of funds. There may be useful ways in which your own advocacy efforts can be integrated with advocacy efforts they are conducting in other contexts. Finally, they may be able to put you in contact with organisations in other countries with whom it may be useful to share experience and best practice. For example, Anti-Slavery's involvement in promoting the implementation of the ILO's Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention in West Africa in 2000 helped to share experience and build alliances on child trafficking and domestic service issues between Togolese and Ghanaian NGOs for the first time.



Regional networks and alliances

The international Global March Against Child Labour illustrates how children, trade unions, child-focused organisations and a range of other groups at national, regional and international levels can unite around a common goal. The strength of the Global March is its ability to create a platform broad enough to include different points of view, while maintaining a strong stance on child labour. For example, at regional level Global March coordinator Defence for Children International, Costa Rica has encouraged organisations across Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean to learn about each other's work and to collaborate on a range of child labour issues. National child rights focal points have been established linking a number of organisations around related themes. The increased networking and greater coverage of child rights issues produced by the focal point structure has also created more and better quality advocacy opportunities.



Examples of other successful regional child labour networks include the Thailand-based Child Workers in Asia (CWA) and the African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN), whose regional office is in Kenya.

Anti-Slavery's efforts with regard to child domestic work combines activities through national level partners with regional and international alliance-building and advocacy. Working with a variety of other organisations to produce this handbook is a case in point. In West Africa, Anti-Slavery has been collaborating with a number of local partners to identify the problem of the trafficking of children for domestic service between countries in the sub-region. For example, Anti-Slavery and partner Enfants Solidaires d'Afrique et du Monde (ESAM) convened a national seminar in 1999 to publicise the research and to discuss future actions which involved high-level representation from the Benin Government, as well as a variety of national and regional level organisations.

In 2000 Anti-Slavery began working with organisations in six West African countries to facilitate the development of a network co-ordinated by WAO Afrique for sharing information and advocacy experience on the issue across the sub-region. By building alliances with governments and law enforcement agencies members of the network aim to develop some minimum standards regarding the recruitment and working conditions for child domestic workers across West Africa.

Strategies for advocacy with international organisations

Objectives:

To gain the endorsement and support of international organisations for advocacy undertaken at national level, and gain visibility of child domestic work within your own environment at the international level and within international forums where child labour is discussed. To work with partners in other countries against the trafficking of child domestics.

Where are they to be found?

International organisations such as UNICEF, ILO/IPEC and Save the Children have representatives in most developing countries. Their local offices, and where they exist their regional offices, should be your first point of contact. In the case of other international NGOs, obtain details through these contacts and write to their head offices.

Key information:

Their target audiences, interests, and procedures; the names of key officers who are potentially interested in your area of concern.

Possible messages:

- @ Child domestic work is an important, and neglected, area of child labour;
- @ Child domestic work interacts with other important child-related concerns, such as child rights, educational enrolment and completion, sexual abuse, and gross exploitation;
- @ Trafficking in child domestics needs to be stopped;
- @ Training, resources and capacity building are needed by your organisation.



Success factors:

- @ Spend time working out points of common interest and finding the right point of entry; don't give up if at first they seem bureaucratic;
- @ Leave plenty of lead time for applications and requests for support;
- @ Adopt a highly professional attitude;
- @ Respect the need of international organisations to maintain a diplomatic profile with governments; don't involve them in highly controversial positions unless they are fully in accord.

Obstacles:

- @ Few mechanisms for interacting with small NGOs or making small grants;
- @ Initial resistance, some over-bureaucratic reactions;
- @ Issue is not within their current range of concerns.

Summary

There is an important international dimension to advocacy, and international conventions can be used to reinforce your case with target audiences in your country. International links will be needed for work to prevent trafficking. International organisations are useful allies, but approaches to them need to be undertaken in a professional manner.



Chapter Six

What have we achieved?

This handbook has focused on the need to articulate objectives for advocacy at the very beginning of the programme planning stage, integrating advocacy objectives with assessment and practical action. It has argued that advocacy should not be seen as a substitute for concrete action to improve the situation of child domestics, but that the two types of programme activity are complementary.

If all three types of activity - assessment, practical programme action, and advocacy - go hand in hand, they reinforce each other. It will also be much easier to measure progress towards achieving the objectives set out for the overall programme. For example, a change in attitudes on the part of employers will be reflected by their greater willingness to allow child domestics to attend educational and recreational services. Similarly, child domestics attending such programmes over time will be able to feed back information as to whether their terms and conditions of work are improving.

One problem with advocacy programmes that are not integrated with service provision is that their impact is extremely difficult to assess. To assess whether a general publicity campaign had had an effect on social attitudes, it would be necessary to conduct some kind of public opinion survey before the campaign, and follow up with another such survey after it had taken place. This is not a realistic proposition for most small organisations. In the case of advocating for policy change, the task of assessment may at first glance seem straightforward: either government has taken up the issue, set out a 'code of conduct', and established a framework for its implementation such as a law and enforcement measures, or it has not. However, in the case of child domestic work, not only is this a difficult goal to achieve, but its own impact on the situation of the workers may be relatively small.

In some countries, such as the Philippines and Tanzania, this is judged as likely to have an important effect on conditions of domestic work. But in many countries, organisations may justifiably feel that - at present - official expressions of law and policy are less important than changes in social attitudes. Where they do have a role, it may be less because law enforcement can be achieved than to raise the issue in the public arena and contribute to changes of attitude and behaviour by employers and parents - the controlling factors in child domestics' lives.

Changes in social attitudes tend to take place slowly. The rate at which such attitude change is fed into behaviour may be even slower. A publicity campaign which brings an issue into high visibility will convert some people to a change in perception. But once the issue disappears from the newspapers or television, it is often hard to know whether the effect is enduring. However, there will be pointers. For example, if child domestic work is raised in the context of child labour debates, there may well be changes in the reactions of politicians and bureaucrats over time.

When things do not change as quickly as you would like, it is easy to get dispirited. However, it can be valuable to compare systematically every year or so whatever pointers you use to gauge public attitudes and see if you can detect any change. These may simply consist of the reactions of friends and neighbours, or of people in public life, to what you are doing. Your ability to attract support may have improved, which could be an indicator of a changing climate of opinion. Or you may have noticed that more researchers and journalists are making inquiries.





I don't think we're getting anywhere.

"I don't think our advocacy campaign on behalf of child domestic workers is getting anywhere."

"Why is that?"

"There seem to be more cases of abuse against child domestic workers than there were a year ago."

"How do you know?"

"Our hotline is busier than ever. Both calls from children themselves, and from people reporting cases in their community."

"That means that more child workers and concerned individuals are taking action."

"That seems to me a mark of success!"

"Yes I suppose it is. I hadn't thought of it like that!"

Monitoring progress, evaluating impact

Normally, the way to measure the impact of any programme is to compare the 'before' and 'after' situation of the target group. The way this is done is to establish 'baseline data' about the 'before' situation; select 'indicators' - aspects of a situation which can be seen to change and will indicate change; and then by monitoring the indicators, measure the degree of change that has occurred in the 'after' situation. For example, in the case of a child immunisation programme, the 'baseline data' would consist of the number of children immunised/not immunised in an area, a key indicator would be child attendance at immunisation clinics, and the effectiveness of the programme in the 'after' situation would be seen by measuring how many immunisations were given month by month.

In the case of child domestic workers, the task of measuring impact is made more difficult because of the lack of accurate information about them to begin with. However, some 'baseline data' does exist - and if you have very little, this is a good reason to carry out some kind of survey before advocacy begins. You may know the average age of children in domestic work; you may know the educational level of domestic workers; the number of hours worked; the level of remuneration. This information will have already guided the selection of your objectives.

As already suggested in Chapter two, when objectives are selected it is helpful to articulate them - if possible - in the form of measurable and time-bound goals. Examples

include: **All child domestic workers under 14 should be eliminated from the workplace by 2010**; or All children working as domestics should be registered and their employment subject to a code of conduct by 2010. Normally, these kinds of long-term objectives cannot be regarded as realistic targets for NGOs, but they can be established and the process of obtaining endorsement for them by leaders, celebrities and decision-makers might itself be established as a target. The level of these endorsements might be selected as an indicator of progress towards them - a **process** indicator. Measurement of children in school, and measurement of registration of child domestics, could be seen as indicators of whether the objective is being reached - **impact** indicators.

Indicators

Indicators are required for monitoring progress and evaluating the impact of programme activities. There is no particular mystique about them - they are a means of measuring how you are doing and what effect it is having. They make it possible to detect success and failure in a more scientific way than informed guesswork. Choosing indicators is a useful exercise as it forces you to plan advocacy in such a way as to be able to do this.

Try to distinguish between impact indicators - which measure the impact of a programme upon the problem it addresses, and process indicators, which tell you how the programme is progressing. For reasons already discussed, it is often difficult to measure the impact of advocacy on a given problem. Most of the monitoring you will be doing will be connected to the programme process. The indicators you need will therefore be process indicators, to measure what you have been doing.

Some of these indicators may be quite mundane, or be things you would have counted anyway. The numbers of children enrolled in a programme, for example, the number of employers enrolled in an association, the number of meetings you have held with local leaders, the number of journalists you have spoken to about the issue, the number of copies of a publication which have been requested from year to year. The collection of this data allows trends to be shown. Although a trend such as increased recruitment of children in a programme does not necessarily show a change in employer attitudes - it might be the first such opportunity available - it can be 'indicative' of such a change.

If you collect consistent baseline data about employer attitudes - and other matters, such as terms and conditions of work - from children in the programme by the use of questionnaires, the information will be indicative of changes over time. In this way, your own programme can be used to assess impact - its own success may itself become an impact indicator.

The selection of both kinds of indicators will depend on what your advocacy objectives are and what techniques you have selected to address them. Since it is difficult and expensive to assess major impacts it may be more appropriate to concentrate on developing and monitoring indicators relating to your own programme.

For example, if awareness-building of their rights among child domestic workers is a stepping-stone objective, membership of domestic workers associations you have set up, and the scale and type of their activities, will be useful process indicators of whether progress is being made. If you wanted to know about the impact of children's membership

of those associations, you would have to conduct a knowledge survey among the child domestics 'before' and 'after' they took part.

If awareness-building among the public is an important activity, the numbers of press articles and interested journalists will be useful indicators. If the reduction of abuse by employers is important, the number of calls to a hotline will be an indicator of whether abuse is being reported; the number of cases taken to court would be another indicator of police and law enforcement attitudes. Again, if you wanted to assess actual impact of these activities, a knowledge, attitude and practice (KAP) study 'before' and 'after' among the general public would be needed. Although this may not be affordable, a focus group exercise might be a good substitute.

Below are some other examples of indicators.

Possible indicators:

1. Removal from the workplace:

- Numbers of children rescued;
- Numbers of cases of abuse or illegal behaviour reported to the police;
- Public policy or law promulgated forbidding under-age employment of domestics;
- Public statements made by prominent figures discouraging employment of under-age domestics;
- Public bodies endorsing code of conduct concerning the employment of under-age domestics;
- Numbers of community leaders committed to action;
- Numbers of workshops held with influential actors (police, lawyers, trades unions, etc.);
- Numbers of cases of abuse reported in the press and media.

2. Improvement of terms and conditions:

- Code of conduct for employers promulgated;
- Numbers of child domestics with written employment contracts;
- Numbers of child domestics receiving pay/reasonable wages;
- Numbers of employers releasing child domestics for educational programmes;
- Numbers of employer associations formed;
- Size of network of associated organisations;
- Number of times issue has received public attention;
- Number of officials/politicians known to be sympathetic;
- Numbers of schools actively engaged.

3. Rehabilitation of child domestics:

- Numbers of children reintegrated with their families;
- Numbers of child domestics attending programmes of any kind;
- Numbers of child domestics enrolled in school;
- Commitments by schools and others to the programme;
- Membership of child domestic associations;
- Numbers of child domestics taking part in awareness-building activities;
- Numbers of times plays or other public presentations put on depicting situation of child domestics;
- Inquiries from the public or from employers.

4. Prevention of entry into domestic employment:

- Retention of girls in school, falling drop-out rates;
- Reduction of numbers of girls entering domestic employment at young ages;
- Successful prosecution of traffickers;
- Rescues of girls from traffickers;
- Numbers of teachers and schoolchildren enrolled in programme;
- Number of meetings with parent groups;
- Commitments from community leaders and others to assist programme;
- Media interest;
- Statements from public figures concerning non-employment of under-age domestics.

Programme efficiency

The purpose of monitoring and evaluation is to allow you to ensure that your advocacy programme is efficiently conducted, and effective in achieving its aims. One of the areas you will want to examine is whether tasks are being done in a time-efficient and cost-effective way. It could be the case that more progress and impact would be achieved by adjustment of internal procedures: better distribution lists, more timely initiatives, keeping to schedules.

Monitoring progress allows you to identify where you need to make corrections in what you are doing. If significant resources and effort are being devoted to something which is inefficient or ineffective, and little progress is being made, a re-think is required. Bear in mind that your expectations may have been over-ambitious; you may simply need to extend the time-frame for accomplishment.

Evaluation

Evaluation of any programme comes at its completion, or at the completion of a major phase or campaign. It is important to recognise at the outset that, in due course, you will need to assess the impact your programme is having on your stated objectives. If you undertook a study or survey as part of your original assessment, you will have some baseline data against which to measure what has happened in the meantime. A new study may be required, especially if you are about to embark on a major redesign or expansion of the programme.

If your advocacy activities include meetings with groups of domestics, parents, guardians, employers, and other key parties, you may be able to evaluate changes in attitudes and practice on a rolling basis. Their voices - particularly those of the domestic workers themselves - will have an important part to play in identifying what has changed, for good or bad, and what activities have been the most helpful.

Undertaking monitoring and evaluation exercises, unless they are very simple and based entirely in your programme, needs technical know-how. It may be advisable to seek professional help in setting up a monitoring and evaluation procedure which is suited to your organisational capacity, and will work effectively. In the case of a new research study, or to carry out a knowledge, attitude and practice (KAP) study or focus group exercise, you will probably need to bring in consultants with the relevant experience.

At the very least, you will need to carry out regular annual meetings of programme staff to have an honest and objective discussion of how the programme is going and whether it is achieving results. It is important to conduct such an exercise in a spirit of

co-operation and collegiality, without seeking to 'blame' team members for shortcomings. There are very real difficulties in conducting effective advocacy, and these need to be examined so that mutual support can help overcome genuine obstacles.

Summary

It is important to be able to assess systematically whether your programme is efficient and effective and what impact it is having on the objectives you have set. Where an initial assessment has been carried out, this provides a basis for subsequent evaluation. Advocacy activities which go hand in hand with practical programme activity are much easier to evaluate than general advocacy campaigns. Monitoring your progress requires setting quantifiable and time-bound objectives, and identifying indicators of programme process and impact.

Annex One:

Suggested further reading

Anti-Slavery International, Research reports on the situation of children in domestic work from Bangladesh, Benin, Costa Rica, Gabon, India (Chennai), Indonesia and Togo undertaken from 1994-2000. For further details contact Anti-Slavery.

Black, M., *Child Domestic Workers: A Handbook for Research and Action* (Anti-Slavery International, 1997. (For further details see website: www.antislavery.org)

Child Workers in Asia. Behind Closed Doors, Child Domestic Workers. Thailand, 1998. (For further details see website: www.cwa.tnet.co.th)

Ennew, J with Plateau, D., *Child Labour, Getting the Message Across*, Asian Regional Working Group on Child Labour, 2001.

International Labour Organization (ILO): Various publications including *Child Labour: Targeting the Intolerable*, ILO, 1996. (For further details see website: www.ilo.org/childlabour)

ILO/IPEC & Save the Children UK (South America Programme), *Conclusions: International Technical Meeting on Child Labour in Other People's Households* - Lima, Peru, September 1999, 2000.

Save the Children UK, *Working for Change in Education*, 2000. (For further details see website: www.scfuk.org.uk)

UNICEF, *Child Domestic Work, Innocenti Digest No.5*, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Florence, 1999. (For further details see website: www.unicef-icdc.org)

Annex Two

Contact list: organisations working on child domestic labour

Contents:

1. Inter-Governmental Organisations
2. Non-Governmental Organisations
3. Working Children's Organisations
4. International Trade Unions

(*) denotes those participants at *Anti-Slavery's International workshop for practitioners on child domestic work, 4-6 April 2001, Imperial College, London, UK*

1. Inter-Governmental Organisations

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International Labour Organization -
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Email: ipecc@ilo.org
Website: www.ilo.org/childlabour

UNICEF; New York *
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International

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www.childservants.org

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Website: www.savethechildren.net

World Vision International
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Regional & National: Africa

African Network for the Prevention
and Protection Against Child Abuse
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Regional and National: Asia

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ICFTU Inter-American Regional
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Website: www.cmt-wcl.org

3. Working Children's Organisations

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Website: www.workingchild.org

African Movement of Child and Youth
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Email: jeuda@enda.sn
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NATS Niños/as y Adolescents
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4. International Trade Unions

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Children working as domestics in the households of people other than their own parents or close family members represent a high proportion of child workers world-wide. Among girls, domestic work is by far the most common form of employment, whether paid or unpaid, and often constitutes one of the worst forms of child labour.

Child Domestic Workers: Finding a Voice, A Handbook for Advocacy is a practical "how to" guide which will help local level NGOs and activists to plan, design, implement and evaluate the impact of an advocacy strategy with regard to child domestic workers. The handbook is easy to use and logical in approach, making use of numerous examples, check lists, and illustrations.

The handbook is the result of years of experience accumulated by Anti-Slavery and practitioners from around the world. In particular, it draws on the participation of activists from 17 countries and representatives of international and regional agencies including ILO/IPEC and UNICEF at an international workshop convened by Anti-Slavery in April 2001.

Also available as a PDF download from Anti-Slavery International:
Child Domestic Workers: A Handbook for Research and Action (1997) www.antislavery.org

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